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presented by Demetrios Kyritses

candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and hereby certify that it is worthy of acceptance.

Signature Angeliki E. Laiou

Typed name Angeliki E. Laiou

Signature Michael McCormick

Typed name Michael McCormick

Signature ....

Typed name ....

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The Byzantine Aristocracy in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries

A thesis presented

by

Demetrios S. Kyritses

to

The Department of History

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UMI
300 North Zeeb Road
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Abstract

The present thesis, written under the supervision of professor A.E. Laiou, examines the internal structure, as well as the social and political behavior of the aristocracy of the late Byzantine empire between the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204 and the end of the major civil war in 1347. For methodological purposes, the aristocracy is conventionally defined as consisting of the bearers of official distinctions -such as honorific epithets, titles, or offices of the court- as well as their immediate relatives. The first chapter examines the nature of these distinctions and also adresses the question of the existence of a senatorial class in late Byzantium. The second chapter is a survey of the geographical distribution of late Byzantine aristocrats, based on criteria such as residence, physical presence, or ownership of property in a particular area. The chapter also examines major patterns of geographical mobility during the period in question. The third chapter examines the economic basis of aristocratic power. The largest part is dedicated to the nature of the landed resources exploited by the aristocracy. It also deals with the origins and stability of these holdings. Furthermore, the chapter examines other sources of income available to aristocrats, such as profits connected with the public administration, exploitation of urban properties, or trading and financing activities. The fourth chapter examines the changes in the structure of aristocratic families that occured during the period in question, concentrating on the high aristocracy. The chapter also examines the development of a class consciousness among the high aristocracy and the relationship of that group to the middle or low aristocracy, as well as the Church. The fifth chapter examines the political behavior of the late Byzantine aristocracy, concentrating on challenges presented to the imperial power by aristocrats between 1204 and 1347. The chapter adresses the question of the degree to which Byzantine autocracy was tempered by the power of the aristocracy. It also examines the ways in which the political activity of the aristocracy contributed to the breakdown of the Byzantine state in the course of the fourteenth century.

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It is a pleasant task to thank all those who contributed in one way or another to the making of this dissertation and to my scholarly formation during the past years. Regretfully, it is practically impossible to mention everyone by name in a short space. Therefore I am making the compromise of restricting my acknowledgements to the academic sphere. I hope that my love and appreciation for all the others will be made apparent in other ways. This includes the dear friends that I met at Harvard, whose warmth and assistance made seven long winters much less depressing than they might have been otherwise.

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My academic formation began at the University of Athens. Several of my teachers there helped me choose the path of scholarship and directed me towards graduate studies. I would like to single out for special thanks prof. Florentia Evangelatou-Notara for her warm-hearted assistance. Prof. Polymnia Athanassiadi, besides offering a first-class introduction to Late Antiquity/Early Byzantium, has been a constant source of inspiration and assistance, and a precious friend. I had the luck of being a student of a great scholar and teacher, Nicolas Oikonomides. His inspired teaching greatly contributed to my decision to dedicate my professional carreer to the field of Byzantine history; his practical guidance and assistance made it possible for me to realize that intention. My graduate study began in Paris, where prof. Hélène Ahrweiler helped me become acquainted both with the problems of late Byzantine history and with the requirements of serious scholarship.

The last seven years were spent in Harvard University and were an immensely enriching and formative experience from the scholarly point of view. I would especially like to thank professors E. Badian, N. Bisson and C. Kafadar who supervised, alongside my

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Prof. Michael McCormick was the second reader of my thesis, but his contribution was much more substantial than that role traditionally requires. He has meticulously corrected both the form and contents of the thesis and made numerous interesting suggestions, providing the useful insight of someone equally expert in early Byzantine and Western European history. I particularly appreciate the time and effort he has invested in coaching me both as a scholar (and not only in the context of the dissertation) and as a teacher.

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Finally, I would like to be allowed an exception to my own rule, and advance beyond the world of academia. Nothing would have been possible without the commitment and support of my parents, not only during my years of graduate study but for nearly three decades now. It is impossible to describe what I owe to them. At least I can thank them from this place.

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INTRODUCTION

There is little doubt that the history of the Byzantine empire during its last centuries (12th-15th) was largely determined by the behaviour of its dominant groups. The lay aristocracy, in particular, had reached a degree of power and stability as a group that had no precedent in the history of the Byzantine state prior to 1081. It is indicative that, despite internal strife and dynastic changes, almost all the emperors after that year were biological descendants of Alexios Komnenos[1]. In order, however, to be able to evaluate the social, economic, political and cultural role of the aristocratic group it is first necassary to investigate its structure and identify the dynamics that permeate it. This has been done with considerable success for the period between the tenth and the thirteenth century[2]. The present study intends to attempt a similar investigation concerning the aristocracy under the first Palaiologoi. It includes the two groups that contributed to the formation of the Palaiologan aristocratic group, namely the aristoracy of the Nicene empire and the aristocracy of the Western Byzantine despotate. The transition to the Palaiologan social system is marked by continuities and changes that this study intends to make clearer.

The defining of the group that forms the subject of this investigation is a methodological problem that can only be solved through some sort of compromise. Earlier studies, of both the late and the middle Byzantine aristocracies, relied heavily on the evidence of family names in order to detect the appearance, the proliferation and the structure of the aristocratic group. Such an approach presupposes the existence of a particular kind of unity among kinship groups, that extends both horizontally among contemporaries (thus, if X and Y are famly names, allowing us for example to identify family X as a family of military

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[1] Such a connection has not been established for Theodore I and John III, but the fact that they bore the names Komnenos and Doukas respectively makes that hypothesis likely (at least they would be descended from some member of Alexios I's immediate family).

[2] I am mainly thinking of A.P.Kazhdan, *Social'nyj sostav gospodstvujuščego klassa Vizantii XI-XII vv.* Moscow 1974 (hereafter cited as Kazhdan, *Social'nyj sostav*) and J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963-1210)*, Paris 1990 (hereafter Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*); see also the various articles included in M.Angold (ed.), *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries*, Oxford 1984 (hereafter Angold, *Aristocracy*)

aristocrats or family Y as a family of bureaucrats) and vertically, through different generations,(allowing us, for example, to trace the movement of family X from one region to the other, or its transition from the civilian to the military aristocracy). Such an approach always involves risk, but for the period down to the thirteenth century this unity of kinship groups is real and is usually expressed by a common family name; exceptions are few and restricted to particular groups and specific names (for example the "clan" of the Komnenoi-Doukai). Therefore, for example A.P. Kazhdan's statistical results[3] can be accepted as indicative of general patterns. In the Palaiologan period, however, family names cannot serve this purpose. This is because new patterns previled both in the transmission of names and in the very notion of kinship as factor of unity. This study, therefore, will base its observations on a group of individuals distinguished according to certain clear criteria.

I have preferred to use as a means of distinction designations of an official character employed by the Byzantines themselves in the late period. This approach presents certain advantages: it remains close to the sources and so provides some protection against anachronism and penetration of pre-conceived notions in the argumentation. In addition, official distinctions represent an established and indubitable reality . For example a *protostrator* was a *protostrator* for everyone, in an absolute way, without nuances. Unofficial designations, on the other hand, allow for substantial subjective variation; for example an *epiphanes* could be "prominent" in the eyes of some, but for others he could be obscure and insignificant. Of course, it might be argued that official distinctions concerned only a subgroup within the dominant class that was by no means coextensive with it. I believe, however, that this smaller group can serve as a representative sample for the examination of the structure of the larger group that we would call "dominant class". This larger group was distinguished through an abstract sense of social prestige that was perhaps clear to the eyes of contemporaries, but hard for us to retrieve through the sources. One might

[3]Kazhdan, *Social'nyj sostav,* passim.

even argue that all the members of this broad and vague aristocratic group owe their presence there to some sort of relation, especially kinship, with the bearers of official distinctions.

The first chapter of this study examines the various types of official distinctions encountered in the sources and the social, economic and professional status of the individuals who bear them. Analysis of the patterns of acquisition and transmission argues that all these distinctions were determined by the state through a selective process. Although various social factors (such as heredity or wealth) influenced this process, ultimately state (i.e. imperial) authority remained absolute and uncontrolled.

The second chapter surveys the geographical distribution of the aristocracy. The purpose is not so much to trace the origins of aristocrats -a difficult task in the late period- as to see how strongly aristocrats were connected to particular areas. Studies of earlier periods[4] have shown that geographical connections can potentially affect the behavior of the aristocracy more than other factors, such as kinship or professional activity. This study shows that the higher stratum of the aristocracy expanded its connections to several geographical locations. Its members are distinct from the provincial aristocracy, but Constantinople is not their geographical center either, in terms of permanent residence or frequent sojourn. Occasionally, however, we can detect tendencies to grow roots in particular areas.

The acquisition of an independent and stable economic base is generally seen as a prerequisite for the aristocrats' political power. Chapter III argues that this never occurred in the period under study. The economic basis of the aristocracy was primarily agricultural. This chapter discusses the possibility that most of the landed resources of aristocrats in the Palaiologan period were in one way or another connected to the system of state grants and to the notion of service to the state. It argues that the alienation of the state's resources was not as permanent as is sometimes maintained and that for aristocrats the notion of private ownership was secondary to the definition by the emperor of their rights and obligations as

[4]E.g. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*

proprietors. Analysis of patterns of preservation and transmission of property suggests that aristocratic properties were unstable in the long run, even reckoning without the factor of state arbitrariness. Apart from the land, an important source of income for many aristocrats consisted in profits connected to administration and depending on administrative appointments. In this period the state was the main agent in redistributing economic resources among the aristocracy, and the position of aristocrats in relation to the emperor decisevely influenced their economic situation.

Chapter four discusses how the internal structure of aristocratic groupings changed in the early Palaiologan period. Changes in the bearing and transmission of family names indicate the abandonment of the attachment to the paternal line and the attribution of equal importance to both parents and to all the blood lines coming from the previous generation. The accumulation of family names makes it more difficult to ascertain the existence of a sense of allegiance that might have united individuals connected by kinship into a sort of extended family. Various kinds of sources lead to the tentative conclusion that such bonds did not exist, although on an individual and selective basis kinship bonds could be important. Particular attention is paid to the large "clan" that is formed around the emperor, starting with Michael VIII. Certain practices indicate that this kin group had developed a sort of particular identity, but it always remained open to newcomers and heterogeneous in its aspirations. The literary evidence shows that this group's relation to the rest of the aristocracy and to the middle class was marked by occasional moral contempt from both sides, but was not antagonistic in any obvious way, although there are signs that it was gradually becoming more tense.

The appending of a discussion of political events to an investigation on the structure of the aristocracy may need some explanation. It follows the supposition that the political behavior of the aristocracy and particularly its reaction to crisis are particularly revelatory of its structure as a group and of its internal dynamism. It may also help lend dynamic depth and movement to the conclusions derived from the dissection of the aristocracy as a "static"

group. For example, J.C.Cheynet has argued that the division of the aristocracy into military and civilian subgroups is of secondary importance in the context of rebellions or other manifestations of political ambition on the part of aristocrats during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The survey in Ch.V yields two particularly striking conclusions: the absence of coordinated political manifestations on the part of the aristocratic group or any of its subgroups and the fact that the political activity of aristocrats is mostly directed towards establishing and maintaining a privileged position close to the source of all power and wealth, that is the crown, even though the actual bearer of the crown may have been targeted for annihilation. The creation of separate quasi-imperial authorities may have been a product of the need to satisfy factions competing for proximity to the prince, but the breakdown of the empire was not the result of independent separatist activity on the part of the aristocrats themselves. For most of the period in discussion the lower aristocracy and other important social groups participated in political struggles according to their interests or sense of loyalty, but did not formulate political claims on their own or oppose the social and economic prerogatives of the high aristocracy. In the course of the second civil war and in the cities that were controlled by the regency, the high aristocracy was politically displaced as the leaders sought to promote their own interests with the support of other power-wielding groups, including the populace of the cities, the foreign colonies and especially the sailors of the war fleet. This study, however, remains sceptical regarding the existence of a conscious middle-class attack on the aristocracy in the pursuit of socio-political restructuring, especially since the position and behavior of the middle class during the war remains unclear.

The present study omits several aspects that could contribute to the collective portrait of the late Byzantine aristocracy, but are not particularly revealing about the structure of the aristocratic group. Thus questions of lifestyle, artistic patronage or religious attitudes are only touched upon briefly in the context of broader discussions and are not analyzed in depth on their own right. I regret more certain other omissions. This thesis was conceived four years ago and the general guidelines for the discussion of the issues were laid down at the time. As

it nears completion, I realize that important factors have been overlooked in the process; they should be the focus of future discussion. One such issue was that of the aristocratic networks of dependents and clients, as well as the notion of the aristocratic household, in a broad sense. Another issue, potentially more important since it touches upon the core of the questions discussed here, is that of the feudalization of relations between the aristocrats and the state. The term "feudal" was from the beginning declared unwanted in the discussion, partly out of reaction to abusive and erroneous uses in past historiography. The topic of the "douloi" of the emperor, imperial grants, obligation of service and freedom was discussed in the context of an impersonal, state-centered logic. My exposure to new ideas, however (including a paper presented by A.Laiou in the summer of 1996), made me pay more attention to the more personal, contractual, two-way relation between the person bound by oath to the emperor's service and the emperor who provided the grant. Perhaps issues such as the need for reconfirmation of grants, the correspondence between new appointments and new grants, and even what I have described as "arbitrariness" on the part of the state could be better illuminated through such an approach.

I. IDENTIFYING THE ARISTOCRATIC GROUP: OFFICIAL DISTINCTIONS

Any study in depth of the Byzantine aristocracy must begin by facing the problem of definition. Which are those traits that distinguish a group of people rendering them eligible for inclusion in the category of "aristocrats" and, consequently, making them the object of our study? Like Western medievalist scholars, modern byzantinists have approached the issue from various viewpoints. One particular approach that was has been extensively adopted in the post-war decades I am tempted to label "Marxist", since it starts from a strictly socio-economic definition of class: the aristocracy is identified with the "feudal" class, or, to do justice to the discernment of many historians who have used this approach, with the class that controls the resources of agricultural production and is the almost exclusive beneficiary of the surplus of agricultural labor, through a variety of legal and institutional mechanisms. In Byzantine studies there has been a strong tendency to see the history of the Byzantine aristocracy of the middle and late periods as the history of great landed property, be it of a "feudal" type, or not. This approach is not unjustified, since the land had always been the main source of wealth for the Byzantine society in general and for its privileged classes in particular, with the partial exception of the last century of the empire's life. In the historiography of late Byzantium, this approach has been represented by the work of G. Ostrogorsky[1] who linked the issue of the evolution of the aristocracy to that of the development of "feudal" phenomena. The basic shortcomings of such an approach, even from a Marxist standpoint, become obvious when one turns to examine the social and political behavior of the landowning class. Thus, in his study of social conflict in fourteenth-century Byzantium, K.-P. Matschke has acknowledged the profound divergence of interests between the higher aristocrats and the small pronoia-holding soldier class, as well as the

[1]The classic work is G. Ostrogorskij, *Pour l' histoire de la féodalité byzantine*, Brussels 1954 (hereafter Ostrogorskij, *Féodalité*). For a more explicit statement of the connection between landowning and aristocracy see the more mature G.Ostrogorsky, "Observations on the Aristocracy in Byzantium", *DOP* 25 (1971), especially the part on late Byzantium, p.17ff.. Notice the identification between aristocrats and "pronoiars".

complications arising from the fact that this higher aristocracy formed at the same time, according to Matschke, the urban patriciate[2]. In general, it can be said that the economic power of the aristocracy, although ultimately connected to the land, was determined by various parameters, including position in the court, in the public administration and in the army. Disregarding those parameters and concentrating on the nature of the income is bound to give only a partial and distorted image of a very complex reality.

Another objection to the above approach, equally important, is that it is based on our own categorization and disregards the way in which the society under study conceived of itself. During the last decades, the study of the aristocracy of medieval Europe has been mainly concerned with the question of how these societies themselves came to distinguish their aristocracies, ending in most cases with the formation of a nobility[3]. The necessity of

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[2]K.P.Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion in Byzanz im 14. Jahrhundert. Konstantinopel in der Bürgerkriegsperiode von 1341 bis 1354*, Berlin 1971 (hereafter Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion*) pp.39-40, 46-49 and passim.

[3]In French historiography the question had already been asked by Marc Bloch in his *Societé féodale* (Paris 1939), who argued for the discontinuity between the Carolingian aristocracy and the French nobility of the high middle ages. The latter group was created as a *de facto* aristocracy already in the tenth century, but the notion of nobility and the juridical distinction of the aristocracy began to occur later, in the mid-twelfth century. This process was confirmed by the research of G.Duby about the richly documented area of the Mâconnais (*La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région Mâconnaise*, Paris 1953), considering the changes in the use of *miles-militia* during this period as an indication of the progressive demarcation of the aristocracy. Later Duby returned to his evidence and modified his original opinion, accepting that until the twelfth century the *milites* were a group distinct from the high aristocracy and it was only gradually that *militia* and nobility were combined in the notion of chivalry, under the influence of the peace of God and the new idelology promoted by the Church during and after the eleventh century (G.Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, essays translated by C.Postan, California 1977, 59-80, 158-170). The disitnction between *militia* and *nobility* had alreaady been made for the Namurois by L.Genicot ("Sur les origines de la noblesse dans le Namurois", *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* XX (1952) 143-156), who argued, as did L.Verriest (*Noblesse, chevalerie, lignages*, Brussels 1959) that a non-demarcated nobility existed already in the eleventh century, independently from the group of the *milites*). Lordship and "bannum" have been considered the distinguishing trait of this early nobility and its creation has accordingly been connected to the devolution of authority to local lords in the tenth century (see P.Bonenfant/G.Despy, "La noblesse en Brabant aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles", *Le Moyen Age* 64(1958), 27-66). More recently it has been shown that chivalry and institutionalized knighthood -one of the most clear distinctions of noble status in most parts of Europe after the 13th century- did not spread from the bottom, the *milites*, to the higher strata of the aristocracy, but rather in the inverse way: a formerly royal prerogative, the protection of the Church and the weak, gradually spread to the princely aristocracy and then to a whole class of *defensores ecclesiae* (L.Flori, *L'essor de la chevalerie, Xie-XIIe siècles*, Genève 1986). German historiography has developed mostly under the impact of the theories of K.Schmid, who argued that there is a biological continuity between Carolingian and later German aristocracy, but also deep changes in family structure and consciousness (from a "horizontal" to a "vertical" concept of family), connected in part with the progressive linking of family groups to geographical centers, esp. castles (K.Schmid, "The Structure of the Nobility in the earlier Middle Ages" in T.Reuter (ed.), *The Medieval Nobility*, Oxford 1978, 37-60[art.originally published in 1959]). The main transition point was placed by Schmid around 1100, but other scholars, notably K.Leyser ("The German Aristocracy from the Ninth to the early Twelfth Century. A Historical and Cultural Sketch",*Past and Present* 41(1968) 25-53) and

connecting the study of late Byzantine aristocracy to this historiographical trend has been expressed by A. Laiou in an article that remains the only study dedicated exclusively to this subject concerning the late Byzantine period[4]. Laiou argued that neither participation in the Senate, nor notions of nobility as an individual quality, that is the two main self-descriptive terms employed by the Byzantines, were sufficient factors to distinguish the group that actually formed the upper stratum of Byzantine society during the late period[5]. She described instead the aristocracy as consisting of two main subgroups, the upper one being that of the few "great families" and the provincial aristocracy, the lower one that of small pronoia-holders[6]. Even the upper aristocracy, however, was open to intrusion through two main avenues: the army and the imperial bureaucracy. From the descriptive point of view, this scheme is correct. As we will see, the highest offices in the court and administration are indeed dominated by a few famous family names. However, since this study was of article-length, it did not treat in detail the issue of the criteria by which specific families can be categorized as belonging to the aristocracy in general, or to its subgroups in particular, in the way that this has been done for the eleventh and twelfth centuries by A.P. Kazhdan[7]. It should be noted that, as in Kazhdan's analysis, the dissection of the aristocracy in this article is largely based on a particular notion that groups aristocratic individuals in large "families", based primarily on their last name, and that tends to use evidence about the status of particular individuals in order to determine the social standing of the "family" as a whole[8]. As this study hopes to demonstrate, that notion is problematic, especially as regards the late

W.Störmer, argued that a "vertical" concept of aristocratic families was already in place before the eleventh century. More recent general studies (e.g. R.Fossier, *L'enfance de l'Europe* II, Paris 1982) accept the basic principle of biological continuity beginning in the Carolingian period, but emphasize that transformations of family structure of collective conscience occured at different times in different parts of Europe and that generalization is not possible.

[4]Laiou, "The Byzantine Aristocracy in the Palaiologan Period: A Story of Arrested Development", *Viator*(1973), p.131 (the "comparative approach")

[5]Ibid., p.132ff., 140-141. The author considers "dynatoi" as the more accurate of contemporary terms, but, as I will argue, the term does not have in the late period the meaning it had during the middle period, but is only used for local notables in provincial cities.

[6]Ibid., p.141

[7]Kazhdan, *Social'nyj sostav*

[8]A more simplified presentation of the late Byzantine aristocracy as a group of families can be found in the *ODB* s.v. "aristocracy"

thirteenth and fourteenth century. Finally, it should be noted that the "provincial aristocracy" of that period is a problematic notion as well, if it is meant to include members of the high aristocracy: the high aristocracy of the empire acquired footholds in various provinces and often resided in the provincial cities all while remaining centered in Constantinople in an abstract way that had to do with the role of the court as the center of redistribution of offices, administrative posts and resources. These aristocrats coexisted with members of locally rooted families who managed to assert their importance locally and sometimes achieve aristocratic status on an individual basis.

In my attempt to select a criterion that would enable me to delimit a group of people before proceeding to collecting and analyzing the available information about them, I would follow Kazhdan's precedent and look for this criterion in the Byzantine sources themselves. This approach might minimize the risk of allowing preconceived notions about late Byzantine society to narrow the scope of the search, but one needs to be constantly aware of one major problem: not all contemporary Byzantines shared the same perception of their society's social stratification. Traditional Byzantine "snobbery"[9] tended to exalt to the point of exaggeration the social status of those who were above the author's level, while at the same time giving a completely disdainful picture of those below. Even this tendency to distortion could be overcome through historical criticism, were it consistent. Yet, as the example of Kantakouzenos' *Histories* shows, the denigration of someone's social status is not so much dependent on the status itself, as on the author's personal relation to that individual[10]. In view of that, I have tried to relegate the "subjective" part of source information to a complementary role, while founding the research on "objective" information. By "subjective", I mean qualifying characterizations such as "ἐπίσημος", "ἄριστος", "φαῦλος", and even

9The expression and concept is borrowed from P.Magdalino, "Byzantine snobbery" in Angold, *Aristocracy*, pp.58-78

10The most famous instance in Kantakouzenos is the systematic denigration of Alexios Apokaukos' or Sphrantzes' social status, which can be opposed to the neutral or favorable presentation of Patrikiotes, Manuel Tagaris or Arsenios Tzamplakon. This will be discussed further below (Ch.IV, p.252)

"εὐγενής"[11]. As "objective", I would label information about distinctions of a public, official, non-disputable character, like titles, offices and honorific epithets. It can indeed be said that, in a broad sense, it was possession of one or more of the above distinctive signs that separated the upper stratum of society from the rest. But caution is called for. First, we know that there were people who never had title or office, yet so closely partake in all of the social characteristics of those who did hold title or office, that their omission might be a methodological error: such cases were sons of aristocrats, younger brothers, et c. In the case of the most important ones, we do not need any information of the sort described above: the porphyrogennetos Constantine Palaiologos, the younger son of Michael VIII and perhaps a would-be emperor, refused to accept any title since his brother, Andronikos II, refused him that of despot; yet what we know about him leaves no doubt about his being an aristocrat of the highest rank[12]. But what can we say about Stephen and Manuel, the two brothers of Theodore Strongylos who was an "oikeios" of the emperor and protohierakarios ("chief faulkner") in 1348[13]? They bear no title at all in our source; they may have had some landed property -their sister did get a dowry partly consisting of real estate. It is possible that to the eyes of a contemporary their social status was not at all distinguishable from that of their brother. Yet, for the sake of precision and in the absence of any other information, I am definitely placing such people outside the group of aristocrats, although they should be considered as being close to it. The reasoning behind this exclusion is that , while birth and blood sufficed to determine one's status within the circle of close imperial relatives, the more we move towards the middle strata of society, the more an individual depended on imperial

[11]In this I am differing from Kazhdan, *Social'nyj sostav*, where Ch.II, pp.27-86 is mostly dedicated to the use of similar terms in the sources. This differentiation expresses the fact that Kazhdan is looking for the "dominant class", a group larger and by necessity less precisely delineated than the aristocracy that I am interested in describing. I might put it differently by stating that I am resigning from any attempt to define or delimit the "ruling class" and prefer instead to use the analysis of a more easily definable group, the aristocracy of titles, offices, epithets, etc. as a guide towards a better understanding of the "ruling class" as a whole. As stated in the introduction, the "ruling" or "dominant class" is a group distinguished mainly by means of social prestige and imposition, whereas I (conventionally) define the aristocracy by reference to the official marks of distinction employed in that period.These are "objective" only in the sense presented in the introduction: they did not vary according to personal bias.
[12]PLP 21492. See especially Pach.II, 155
[13]PLP 26952(Theodore). MM I, 276

service and its rewards, both material and titular, for distinction among the mass of people of similar birth and means.

Another problem of this approach is that it leaves aristocratic women in the margin, since they did not have titles or offices of their own, but, as a norm, bore those of their husbands. Still, it remains a fact that, notwithstanding the many women who actively administered vast aristocratic households and yielded a not negligible amount of power, the list of women aristocrats would be limited mainly to the wives and daughters of men aristocrats. Late Byzantine society provided no means of independent advancement for women; even sainthood no longer seems to have been an option in that era of male saints.

The terms of distinction employed in the sources of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries fall into three categories, epithets, titles and offices. For practical purposes I will examine each category separately.

A. Epithets

I use this term to denote certain appelations attached to individuals. These appelations do not derive from the old hierarchy of ranks and functions, but were initially meant as descriptive, although with time they became more institutional, at least when used by the adminitrative bureaucracy. I would consider as epithets the appelations "kyr(-os, -es)", "doulos/oikeios (slave/familiar) of the emperor" and "(relative) of the emperor".

"Kyr", an abbreviated form of κύριος, lord, had been used since at least the middle period[14] as a mark of deference or in order to add distinction to the name it preceded. From the eleventh century onwards, there are enough documents to allow us to draw some conclusions about its use in a non-literary context. The first observation is that private individuals are much more generous in their attribution of that epithet than imperial functionaries or the imperial chancery itself[15]. The latter are at first exceedingly sparing,

[14]As Prof. M. McCormick points out to me, there are instances from the Protobyzantine period when *kyr(ios)* is used, always in direct speech and in combination with a dignity.
[15]See for example MM VI, 91 (a private Patmos document of 1094): "ὁ χαρτουλάριος καὶ πατριαρχικὸς νοτάριος, κῦρις Θεοδόσιος, ὁ ανεψιὸς τοῦ ἀποιχομένου κυροῦ Βασιλείου τοῦ Καστρεισίου"

using the epithet only for people of very high status, like the emperors and their close relatives, as well as particularly venerable persons, like important monks -in the latter case not very consistently. In the course of the twelfth century the use of "kyr" in official documents spreads to a larger group of people, including certain court dignitaries, but always remains restricted to a circle of individuals of distinguished social status. By the thirteenth century, it seems that the imperial scribes consistently use the epithet for individuals of an elevated status[16]. "Kyr" can therefore be considered as a good indication of elevated -one might say aristocratic- status. I have restricted my search to imperial documents (including those issued by despots), since it seems that these are the only ones using this title in a consistant and pre-determined way. State functionaries, like the *apographeis* (census officials) are more free in their terminology, as befits an era when public administration escapes the strict supervision of the central bureaucracy and becomes more "privatized". The patriarch's chancery is more discriminating in its choice of wording, but there are indications that it was not as strict as that of the emperor[17].

The random nature of the information preserved hardly allows for any quantitative results concerning the use of "kyr" among the officials and title holders. Only a small percentage of the names of people included in tables I and II happen to appear in an imperial document; therefore we cannot make any pronouncement as to the frequency with which members of that group are called *kyr* by the emperor. There are, however, some interesting observations from the cases we know. First, one observes that there are three categories who are always complemented by the epithet "kyr" whenever they happen to appear in an imperial

[16]Unlike private documents, where it is used as a mark of deference in a very vague way and for people of varying status: see for example MM IV, 64, 99, 123 (where *kyr* appears in the *signon*, rather untypically), or Iviron III **73**, 189 (here and in all subsequent references to monastic documents or the patriarchal register, the number of the document is indicated in bold print and the page number in normal print), where a group of Thessalonian citizens of no particularly distinguished status are all called *kyr*.

[17]For example in Patr.Reg.I **47**, 320, not one of the small-land owners mentioned is *kyr*, although one is the son of an official and in a private context he might use that epithet. On the other hand, the individuals in Patr.Reg.I **43**, 304, an *oikeios* and his son-in-law are both *kyr*, although probably none of them would bear that epithet in an imperial document.

document: relatives of the Emperor, court officials and bearers of the title "sebastos"[18]. On the other hand, being an *oikeios* of the emperor does not necessarily guarantee this mark of distinction. In fact, in most cases where an *oikeios* does not happen to belong to one of the above three categories, he is not referred to as "kyr"[19]. Holding a post in the provincial and fiscal administration does not make a decisive difference either. In one case where an *oikeios* is also a "kephale", the epithet "kyr" is used[20]. But it is not the same for the function of *apographeus*, censor, or even for the office of *doux*.[21] With all these distinctions in mind, one observes that there is a differentiation among individuals whose status is equal, as far as title and office are concerned. For example, Phokas Autoreianos, George Makrenos and George Kammytzoboukes are all *oikeioi* of the emperor and hold, at different times, the post of *doux* of the Thrakesion theme. Yet, only Kammytzoboukes is adressed by the emperor as "kyr"[22]. Can it be that he had a special quality that was not mentioned, like being related to the imperial family[23]? Or does the emperor's chancery recognize a difference in status that is independent of titles and offices? In the same way, we see that whereas imperial secretaries (γραμματικοί), treasury clerks (βεστιαρῖται) and knights (στρατιῶται) are not normally adressed as "kyr"[24], occasional exceptions are made, as for kyr Demetrios Deblitzenos, *oikeios* and imperial knight, in 1349[25]. The conclusion is that the occurance of "kyr" is an indication of distinguished status, albeit one of secondary importance. It should also be noted that the sources can easily mislead on this aspect: Apart from the inconsistencies mentioned

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18It is interesting that a "megalodoxotatos" does not have the same privileged treatment as a "sebastos": George Monochytras (PLP19313) is not referred to as "kyr" by the emperor. See Patmos I **14**, 128; **25**, 237. The imperial document does not even mention his title, which we know from Patmos II 153.

19Examples in Patmos I, pp. 248, 259, 265, 272; MM IV. 254, 256; see however Guillou, *Ménécée* **5**, 47, although the same person is not called *kyr* in **8**, 52 of the same collection. Could it be the difference in strictness between a simple *horismos* in the first case and the more solemn *chrysoboullos logos* in the second, or was there simple carelessness of the author?

20John Balsamon(PLP2116), in 1321; Patmos I **43**, 314

21Examples in Lavra II **107**, 179; Doch.**9**, 108; Patmos I **30**, 259; **31**, 265; **39**, 300; see also next note.

22Autoreianos(PLP 1696) in MM IV, 256, 257, 283; Makrenos ibid., 247; Kammytzoboukes ibid.,254

23See MM IV, 330ff, where Nicholas Maliasenos, a relative of Michael VIII, is only refered to as "oikeios", not as "gambros", as he should. Of course, he is called "kyr".

24Examples for *grammatikoi* in MM IV, 247, 256, 257, 283; Patmos I **42**, 311; for *bestiaritai*, MM IV 54, 199, 217, 251; for *stratiotai*, ibid., 241; Iviron III **72**,186; Chil. **35**, 82

25Doch.**30**, 195; but his status may have changed since 1311, when he was a knight (ibid.**11**, 119)

above, one observes that the language of imperial documents, although generally strict and precise, may be quite imprecise in some cases, as when referring to deceased people ("kyr" is used ad libitum in those cases), when mentioning a name more than once in the same document[26], in some categories of documents of urgent nature[27] and, finally, when someone is in disgrace[28].

Unlike "kyr", the epithet οἰκεῖος of the emperor was used in a raher consistent way in documentary sources. Being an *oikeios* was an objectively known quality, whose attribution did not depend on the discrimination of a source's author. The only people who do not use this epithet are the *oikeioi* themselves, who, out of deference for the emperor's person, always refer to themselves as *douloi*, servants of the emperor. The *douloi* of the emperor, whether they be *oikeioi* or not, form an extremely large group. They do not necessarily have anything in common, except the fact that they are all engaged in some sort of service to the state. It is probable that the term δοῦλος is to be connected with the term δουλεία, one of the meanings of which is exactly that of state service. In any case, all court dignitaries, fiscal officials, military officers, imperial secretaries, administrators of imperial estates, in general, all who are engaged in the service of the state or the emperor's person refer to themselves -in an official context at least- as the emperor's *douloi*[29]. However, not all of them are *oikeioi*. The status of the emperor's simple *douloi* could be much lower than that of the *oikeioi*[30]. In a few cases, we have people who are the emperor's "servants", yet, when they are addressed in imperial documents, they are not called *oikeioi*, a sign that they probably were not. Because of the nature of our documentation, almost all of the examples I have found concern officials of

[26]The scribe is usually content to mention the full titulature only the first time, as in MM IV, 283; this can be a problem when part of the document is missing (ibid., 213).

[27]I can only give this explanation to the way Theodotos Kalothetos(PLP10607) is refered to in Patmos I 27, 248, without any epithet or title. We know that in other documents of the same year (1259), he is mentioned as sebastos and uncle of Michael VIII (MM IV, 153, 154, 208). The date and authenticity of the documents appears certain.

[28]Constantine Tzyrapes(PLP28160), although a sebastos, is not refered to as "kyr" in Lavra II, 176ff, but then the emperor is accusing him of corruption and bribery.

[29]On the relationship between *douleia* and *oikeiotes* see Kazhdan, *Social'nyj sostav*, 81-86

[30] An example from Xérop.19, 168: the γεωμέτρης Nicholas Pikroklades, *doulos* of the emperor, calls the apographeis of the collegium Kounales-Kontenos-Kalognomos his lords (kyrioi); among those three, Kounales, the only *oikeios*, has a place of prominence, being always mentioned first. See also next note.

the fisc: *vestiaritai* in the thirteenth century and *apographeis*, mainly in the fourteenth century[31]. Unfortunately, the occurences are rather random; it is not obvious why some people are *oikeioi*, whereas others, whose functions are similar, are not. It is equally difficult to distinguish the process by which one becomes an *oikeios* of the emperor and, by consequence, to understand in what exactly this quality consists.

The quality of *oikeios* was not, of course, something new in Byzantine institutional life. It appeared in the sources during the tenth century; its origins seem to have been independent of the preexisting group of *oikeiakoi*, the members of the emperor's household (*oikos*), attested already in the ninth century [32]. The *oikeioi* were at first those who were on terms of familiarity with the emperor, his close relatives[33]. It is interesting that, by the twelfth century, the term is also applied in the sphere of private aristocratic households: the most trusted servants of important aristocrats were described as their *oikeioi* [34] -a practice that would continue well into the late period, although taking a form that looks more like a network of patronage. It is not clear whether private aristocratic courts were imitating an imperial institution, or whether, as the imperial court became more and more aristocratic in nature, it adapted an aristocratic practice to its needs. A direct causal connection of the *oikeioi* to the "hommes liges" of feudal Europe has been convincingly disproven by P. Verpeaux[35]. It is unclear whether "oikeios" was equivalent as a term to "anthropos (of someone)"[36]. At

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[31]E.g. the bestiarites John Rhabdokanakes (MM IV, 192, 199, 218 ff) or the apographeis George Farisaios (PLP29636), Leon Kalognomos (PLP10529) and Demetrios Kontenos (PLP 13048) (Chil., pp. 76, 109, 153, 154; Xérop.**19**,167; **22**, 174; Kutlumus11, 63; these refer only to the cases where they are explicitely denied the tile "oikeios")

[32]On the *oikeiakoi* see N.Oikonomidès, "Pour une nouvelle lecture des inscriptions de Skripou en Béotie", *TM* 12(1994), 486-488. Although the *oikeiakoi*, as a group, have disappeared for centuries, the term is sometimes used in the late period as a synonym of *oikeioi*: see Greg. I, 395: "ὅσοι τοῦ δήμου, ὅσοι τῶν συγκλητικῶν καὶ οἰκειακῶν..."

[33]See *ODB* under "oikeiakoi" and "oikeioi"

[34]J.Verpeaux, "Les oikeioi. Notes d'histoire institutionelle et sociale", *REB* 23 (1965) (hereafter Verpeaux, "Oikeioi"), 89-92

[35]Ibid., 92-94; Westerners did not recognize in *oikeios* one of their institutions and translated it literally, as *familiaris*: see *DVL* I 7, 13 (Georgius Coronius); **98**, 200 (Stephanus Syropulus); **118**, 234 (Alexius Apocafchus). A question mark must be left for the various individuals described as ἄνθρωποι of important aristocrats and the emperor himself. Are they identical to the *oikeioi*, or something different?

[36]There are several mentions of βασιλικοὶ ἄνθρωποι, who are occasionally of a not negligible status, e.g. *sebastoi*. See for example MM IV, 55, Dependents of aristocrats are refered to both as *oikeioi* and as *anthropoi*.

the end of the twelfth century the quality of imperial *oikeios* spreads to court and administrative officials, perhaps as part of the general devaluation of dignities that is observed after the fall of the Komnenoi. During the period under study, the circle of the *oikeioi* is quite large. As J.Verpeaux has put it, the *oikeioi* form the pool from which court officials are chosen[37]. A late Byzantine formula for attributing court offices, published by Sathas[38], suggests that any new dignitary was expected to be an *oikeios* ("τούτου γὰρ χάριν ἐγένετο τῷ διαληφθέντι οἰκείῳ τῆς βασιλείας μου...."). The list of court officials in table I seems to confirm that all officials who are not the emperor's relatives are his *oikeioi* (when the epithet does not exist, it is almost always due to the nature of the source; only documentary sources give the full titulature). Notwithstanding Verpeaux's interpretation, however, the formula does not necessarily imply that the quality of *oikeios* should predate the appointment.

As far as the *oikeioi* of high aristocrats are concerned, the relationship seems to have been of a personal nature. This gave it a potentially hereditary quality: Leon Kalothetos, the most important local potentate of Chios, considered himself an "oikeios" of John Kantakouzenos because this relationship had connected their fathers[39]. However, the quality of an imperial *oikeios* was more institutional than personal: The *oikeioi* of Andronikos II were at the same time *oikeioi* of his grandson and rival Andronikos III[40]. The accession of a new emperor did not affect the quality of *oikeios* that a person might possess. It is also interesting that *oikeioi* who fell in disgrace kept that appelation, which was quite independent from real οἰκειότης. Such was the case with Nikephoros Martinos who remained an *oikeios* after the end of the civil war although he had sided with Andronikos II[41].The same case provides an example of how the quality of *oikeios* might be acquired. Martinos, who had no epithet in 1317 (yet was somehow connected to imperial service, since he had an *oikonomia*),

37Verpeaux, *op.cit.*, 98.
38Sathas, *MB* VI, 651
39Kantak. I, 371
40E.g. Chil. 32, 76 and 33, 79
41PLP17201, from Guillou, *Ménécée*, 51, 69ff, 71ff, 83ff

became a *sebastos* during the civil war and at the same time acquired the quality of *oikeios*, possibly because of the services he rendered to the side of Andronikos II. In a different instance, we have the example of Licario, lord of a seigneurie in Negroponte who decided to join the empire ca. 1275. The very first honour he received in return was that of *oikeios*[42] and in that capacity he commanded the imperial navy, until he was deemed worthy of court office.

Several indications confirm J. Verpeaux's statement that the quality of *oikeios* was not hereditary[43]. It is true that we do find *oikeioi* who are sons of *oikeioi*, as well as a tendency of the epithet to recur among members of the same family. To Verpeaux's examples, concerning celebrities, one could add several less prominent cases: within the span of one generation, no less than five Thessalonians of the Kabasilas family bore the epithet *oikeios*[44], as did three members of the Kokalas family from the same city[45]. In 1344 both Melanchrenoi brothers are *oikeioi* and so are the brothers George Atouemes Monomachos and Michael Senachereim Monomachos ca. 1340[46]. But we also have cases like the two sons of the *oikeios* Theodore Padyates, neither of whom bears the epithet[47], or Theodore Strongylos who, in 1348, is the only one from three brothers who bears the epithet[48]. I would conclude that, officially, family connections did not determine who would be an *oikeios*. However, due to the obvious fact that people who managed to distinguish themselves in imperial service attracted other members of their family to the pursuit of similar careers, we end up with this tendency to find that epithet among members of the same families. In the above mentioned case, the Kabasilas family was a particularly representative family of the urban middle class of Thessalonica, with roots in the Epirote aristocracy of the thirteenth century, which constantly flirted with the higher aristocracy, yet never firmly established itself among it. This is typical of the milieu

[42]"He was registered among the emperor's *oikeioi* - τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως οἰκείοις ἐγγράφεται":Pach.I.ii, 525. Unless a figure of speech, this expression could further support the idea that the *oikeioi* were an officially distinguished group whose names were kept by the government in some sort of register.
[43]Verpeaux, "Oikeioi", 96
[44]PLP numbers 10078(=10076,77?), 10083(=10081?), 10090, 10095, 30539.
[45]PLP numbers 14089, 14090 and Constantine Kokalas from Iviron III **76**, 240, not in the PLP.
[46]For the Melanchrenoi (PLP17625) Doch. **23**,170; for the brother of the well known Michael Monomachos (PLP19295=19306), Bees, *Meteora*, 63 (PLP19298).
[47]PLP21292, 21291, 14532; Patr.Reg. I **101**, 568
[48]PLP 26952; MM I, 276

where the epithet *oikeios* begins to be encountered. From that level upwards, it covers practically the whole spectrum of the higher aristocracy, excluding, of course, the imperial relatives[49]. We could say that the "oikeioi" were the superior group among the people who were in way or another connected to imperial service; they were those whose relationship to the emperor was -theoretically at least- a personal one, that, following the Western sources, we could call "familiarity".

It must be noted that the transition from the epithet *oikeios* to an epithet stating a relationship to the emperor (θεῖος, ἀνεψιός, γαμβρός, συμπένθερος,et c.) is not so matter-of-fact as it appears. The epithets of that category are not purely descriptive, but may have a more symbolic, honorary character. Nicholas Maliasenos, married to the niece of Michael VIII, remained an *oikeios* until the moment he became a monk, when he was finally called ἀνεψιός. His son remained an *oikeios* as far as our documentation goes[50]. On the other hand, George Choumnos, son of the famous *mesazon*, whose only relationship to the imperial family consisted in his sister's marriage to a son of Andronikos II, retained his father's title of συμπένθερος, even in connection with Andronikos III, while he was a θεῖος of John V, epithets clearly not justified by his actual relationship to the emperors[51]. Nobility of lineage does not really explain that pattern, since Maliasenos could have a much stronger claim to it. It seems rather that the epithets denoting family relations could have -at least outside the immediate imperial family- a honorary character, attributed according to imperial favor. Two explicit such cases are Demetrios Tornikes[52] ("brother" of John III) and Andronikos Palaiologos ("cousin" of Michael VIII)[53].

Before closing the discussion devoted to the *oikeioi*, it would be interesting to cast a glimpse at a different milieu, that of the rural provincial *oikeioi*. Such a case was that of

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[49]An exception is Nicephoros Choumnos, who, for a period used both *oikeios* and *sympentheros*:L.T.Belgrano, "Prima serie di documenti riguardanti la colonia di Pera", *Atti della Società Ligura di storia patria* 13(1877-1884), 104 ("familiaris et consocer")
[50]PLP 16523(Nicholas) and 16522(John); MM IV, 330, 334, 336ff, 342
[51]PLP 30945;MM I, 176, 188, 223; MM III, 114
[52]Akrop.I, 90, confirmed by several documents, e.g. MM IV, 41, 147, 193, 199 (an imperial document)
[53]PLP 21432; Pach.I.i, 155

Machrames, an inhabitant of the area of Skamandros, who was an imperial servant ("τῶν βασιλικῶν ὑπηρετῶν"; perhaps a *vestiarios* or an administrator of imperial properties) who "prided himself on bearing the epithet of *oikeios* (τῇ οἰκειότητι κλεϊζόμενος)". From this description, his status seems rather unimpressive, yet, when the inhabitants of Skamandros left their homes fleing the Turks around 1304, the other refugees naturally turned to Machrames and appointed him as their leader. He led their exodus to Mytilene, where he was considered responsible for abandoning the fortress of Assos and, unable to purchase his life, was executed at the orders of Roger de Flor[54]. Machrames may have been a remnant of the class to which belonged the "οἰκειότατοι" to the emperor archons of Smyrna who heard a civil case as a jury in 1232[55]. The social importance of the *oikeioi* may have been different in 13th century Asia Minor than it was in the European cities of the Palaiologan empire; at a time when the presence and imposition of the higher aristocracy was not felt so strongly, the local notables who were involved in some sort of imperial service, were proudly carrying their epithet of "oikeios" and formed the *élite* of their small society.

B. Titles

During the Middle Byzantine period honorary titles denoting rank (ἀξίαι διὰ βραβείου) had been clearly distinct from offices (ἀξίαι διὰ λόγου). The former (such as *protospatharioi, magistroi, patrikioi* etc.) divided the dignitaries into hierarchical groups, according to which ceremonial precedence was determined. During a period the rank also determined the amount of the yearly allowance (*roga*) given by the emperor to a dignitary, independently of payment given as salary for particular tasks. Offices had a specific task attached to them (e.g. the generals of the themes, the pefect of the City, the logothetes etc.) and were not necessarily permanent. That distinction had never been insurmountable: offices or individual marks of distinction sometimes evolved into ranks, as happened for example

[54]PLP 17544; Pach.II, 437ff
[55]MM IV, 189-190

with the *proedros* of the Senate, created in the tenth century, which had evolved into a rank by the eleventh[56]. From the eleventh century onwards the tendency for inflation and devaluation of the titles becomes much more swift, as new titles are superimposed on the old ones. At the same time, there is a correspondence of particular titles to degrees of relationship to the emperor[57]. This family-centered system of titles disintegrated amidst the institutional and administrative turmoil that followed the demise of the Comnenian dynasty. Titles reserved for the closest imperial relatives, like *sebastocrator* or *panhypersebastos* maintained their high status (although they had to give way to the new *despotes*). On the other hand, titles which were reserved for the peripheral members of the imperial family, such as *sebastos*, became rapidly devalued and spread among the ranks of lower officials of the central or provincial administration. After 1204 titulature patterns followed distinct paths in the two successor states, Nicaea and Epiros.

The main problem when studying the title system of the thirteenth century is the absence of the kind of specialized, comprehensive source best represented by the "court lists" of the next century, particularly Pseudo-Kodinos. We know more or less the system at its starting point but then it is only after more than a century that we get another comprehensive view of it, with all the transformations that have taken place in the meantime. One can easily be tempted into applying to the evolution of the system of titles and offices a periodization borrowed from external factors. Yet, all the changes did not take place cataclysmically after 1204 or 1259. One should rely on the collection of the -unfortunately random- data from the whole of the period in order to see how and when those changes took place. One should also keep in mind the main peculiarity of that period of Byzantine history, which presents us with

[56]*ODB* under "Proedros"; N.Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles*, Paris 1972 (hereafter Oikonomidès, *Listes*), 299

[57]Kazhdan, *Social'nyj sostav*, 100-122 examines the patterns of title-bearing under the Komnenoi and sees that the position of a family in the hierarchy (determined by the frequency of high titles among its members) was directly related to the closeness of its kinship alliance to the Komnenoi. I think that the correspondence becomes even more clear if we disregard the families and focus on the individuals: see the studies of L.Stiernon, "Notes de titulature et de prosopographie Byzantines", in *REB* 17(1959), 90-126; 19(1961), 273-283; 21(1963), 179-198; 22(1964), 184-198; 23(1965) 222-238

two distinctly evolving systems, in Lascarid Asia Minor and in the European parts, which gradually merge into one after the middle of the thirteenth century.

It seems to me that it is reasonable to attribute to the first Lascarids the innovation that gave to the late Byzantine system of dignities its most characteristic trait: the simplification of the parallel hierarchies of titles/ranks and offices and the creation of a single court hierarchy. Not only is such a reform in tune with the general tendency towards simplification and practicality that these emperors displayed, but it is probably to be connected with the abrupt disappearance of most titles denoting rank after the first decades of the thirteenth century: *sebastohypertatoi*, *nobelissimoi* and their composites disappear from the sources[58]. Others, notably the titles of *panhypersebastos* and *protosebastos*, lose their meaning as ranks: whereas earlier they were conferred upon a group of individuals who might have borne distinct offices, now they are assimilated to the offices (without, however, acquiring any specific function) and integrated into a single hierarchy[59]; here they will be discussed together with the offices. The notion of rank did not disappear completely under the Lascarids, but it was completely dissociated from court hierarchy: two titles, *sebastos* and *megalodoxotatos*, were preserved as marks of distinction for individuals, independently from the court hierarchy[60]. For the sake of clarity, they will be studied here separately.

The inclusion of *sebastos* in some fourteenth century lists of court precedence, including Pseudo-Kodinos[61], should not confuse the fact that the title is independent from the

[58]According to Oikonomidès, *Listes*, 293, n.30 *nobelissimos* and *protonobelissimos* are last mentioned in 1191 and 1196. During the late period there are some rare occurences of *protonobelissimos* in a provincial and probably unofficial context, such as the Thessalian Marmaras in 1277 (MM IV, 419) or the Dermokaïtes of a document dated -problematically?- in 1466/67 (PLP 5205). The only late Byzantine list of precedence that mentions those two dignities is that of Vatic. Gr. 952, where they are placed at the end among non-courtly titles, such as *lampadarios* (a Church office) or *maistor* ("master", qualification of a professional): see Verpeaux, *Ps.Kodinos*, 308. I have not found any reference at all to *sebastohypertatos* or *pansebastohypertatos* after 1204.

[59]As it will be argued below, *protosebastos* might still have kept part of its quality as a title, as indicated by the fact that it often appears in combination with other offices.

[60]It should be observed that *megalodoxotatos* apparently was originally an epithet. The exact parallel would be not the title *sebastos* but the epithet *pansebastos* that accompanies *sebastos*. I do not know if originally it was employed in a different way. In the thirteenth century, however, and later *megalodoxotatos* is used exactly as *sebastos*, only at a lower level. The fact that we never encounter both appelations in the same individual is a good indication that they are both seen as mutually exclusive titles.

[61]Verpeaux, *Ps.Kodinos*, 139, 308, 337

hierarchy of offices. It is included, almost at the very bottom of the list, for the practical purpose of indicating the precedence order of non-office-holding *sebastoi* who might happen to be at court at a given time. Yet, the same title could be borne both by higher-ranking officials and by people living in far away provinces, with no connection to the court whatsoever. From the combined data of table I (the list of office holders) and table II (the list of known *sebastoi*), one can draw some interesting conclusions about the social connotations of the title of *sebastos*.

First we notice the extreme rarity of the title among the bearers of the highest ranking offices. There are a few early exceptions, like that of the *protostrator* John Ises (1221), or the Grand Logothete John Strategopoulos(1217?). But in other similar cases, like the *parakoimomenos* Isaac Doukas (bef. 1222?), brother of the future John III, the *panhypersebastos* George Zagarommates (1249-1261), the Grand Logothete Theodore Mouzalon (1291-94), or the *epi tou kanikleiou* Nikephoros Choumnos (after 1294), we know that all these individuals had risen to their offices from rather low positions and already had the title of *sebastos*, which they kept. These exceptions therefore, reinforce the conclusion that *sebastos*, as a title, was common among the class of people that staffed the middle-low offices, rather than the high ones.

A second observation points to the same direction: all the family names that are mostly associated with the traditional high aristocracy of the empire, are conspicuously absent from the list of the *sebastoi*. No Aprenos, Asan, Vranas, Glavas, Kantakouzenos, Nestongos, Palaiologos, Rhaoul, Strategopoulos (with the exception of the above mentioned case of 1217), Synadenos, Tarchaneiotes, Tornikes, Philanthropenos or Philes bears the title of *sebastos*. This cannot be due to chance. It seems that members of the "high aristocracy" -the group whose members could reasonably expect to receive high court offices because of their lineage or relationship to the emperor- thought it degrading to seek a rank that could be acquired by individuals of lower extraction. It is interesting that even members of the high

aristocracy who did not acquire other offices still disregarded the title of *sebastos*, as if their name and lineage alone were for them a sufficient, though unofficial, mark of distinction.

The low esteem enjoyed by the title of *sebastos* among the high aristocracy may not have been unconnected with the way this title could be acquired. We know that the title was attributed by imperial edict, just like the offices[62]. We do not know, however, what were the prerequisites for that attribution. Some patterns of persistence of the title within a family do exist[63], the title was not hereditary, however[64]. One further notes that an individual would acquire the title somewhere in the course of his career: Leon Kalognomos (PLP10529) acquires the title only after several years of service as *apographeus* and after he has got the position of *prokathemenos* of Drama[65]; the stratiotes Michael Sabentzes (PLP24658) is given a pronoia in 1321, but acquires the title *sebastos* later, between 1321 and 1325[66]; in 1265, John Spartenos (PLP 26499=26502), son of the deceased *sebastos* Demetrios Spartenos is only *doulos*[67], but he has become a *sebastos* by 1284[68]. That same year, his son, Demetrios Spartenos (PLP 26496), bears no title, although he is an adult and engaged in money-lending activities[69];Demetrios became himself a *sebastos* by 1304[70]. Since the title does not seem to be directly connected with any sort of effective service or any specific activity, one is led to suppose that the emperor conferred it upon some successful individual

[62]The formula has been published by Sathas, *MB* vi, 651. The collection of formulae probably dates from the fourteenth century. Under the heading "Σεβαστάτον" it goes as follows: Ἡ βασιλεία μου τιμᾷ διὰ τῆς παρούσης αὐτῆς προστάξεως τὸν......τῷ τῶν Σεβαστῶν ἀξιώματι, καὶ διορίζεται συντιμᾶσθαι αὐτὸν τοῖς οὕτω τετιμημένοις ἔν τε προόδοις, καθέδραις, στάσεσί τε καὶ συνελεύσεσι. τούτου γὰρ χάριν ἐγένετο τῷ δηλωθέντι σεβαστῷ κῦρ.....τὸ παρόν.

[63]See the examples of the Spartenoi (years 1262, 1284, 1295), the Theologitai (1312), the Hyaleas (bef. 1310 and 1333-6). In one case, we know that the grandson of a *sebastos* (Basil Sebasteianos, PLP25067, grandson of a person by the same name, PLP25066) was also a *sebastos* about 24 years later: Patr.Reg. I **78**, 454.

[64]Theodore, the son of the *sebastos* Joseph Tzyringes (PLP28166), bears no title in Chil. **28**, 64.

[65]Xérop. **19**, 167 (May 1319) is the latest occurence where he is not yet *sebastos*. Then he is attributed the title in an act dating from soon after 1322 (Xérop.**21**, 174).

[66]Xérop. **16**, 118, 127; Xénoph.**15**,139

[67]Chil.**6**, 15

[68]Lavra II **75**, 32

[69]Ibid.

[70]Lavra II **98**,138

as a sign of honor and imperial esteem. In order to accept this, however, one must first examine the milieu of the individuals who actually held the title of *sebastos.*

A survey of table II leads to a surprising observation: although various categories are represented, including administrative officials (dukes, a few *kephalai*), occasionally *stratiotai* and others, the great majority of late Byzantine *sebastoi* come from the ranks of the fiscal functionaries. The phenomenon is remarkable, even if one allows for the fact that fiscal and cadastral functionaries are better represented in monastic documents than other groups of officials. Thus the list includes 3 *vestiaritai*, 19 *apographeis*, 4 *domestikoi* (an office of fiscal character in the late period), 4 grand *adnoumiastai* and several Logothetes (officers of the financial, if not strictly fiscal administration), as well as various specified and unspecified fiscal officials. If one adds to these the fiscal aspect of the office of "doux" after the mid-thirteenth century, the emerging picture is clear enough to demand an explanation. Did *sebastos* become a distinction mostly sought by bureaucrats and particularly those of the fiscal branch? This is not unlikely. But another dimension should be added. The fiscal administrators of the late Byzantine empire were not mere clerks. As we are going to see when discussing the economic activities of the aristocracy, most of these people were private entrepreneurs, originating almost exclusively from families of a middle-class/ low aristocratic background. These people managed to combine their personal activities with service to the state, in the framework of an understudied and unclear system, which bears parallels both to tax-farming and to the conducting of a public business by a private undertaker[71]. Can it be that, as these people built up their fortunes and rose in social status, they desired to add one more touch by the acquisition of a devalued, but still respected ancient rank? In other words, could *sebastos* have been a title for sale? One can only ask the question. Although ranks were indeed bought in the Middle Byzantine period, there is no evidence that this practice continued under the Comnenian system; the attachment of the rank system to kinship would be an argument for discontinuity. Yet, nothing prevents us from assuming that the late

[71]For this, see Ch.IV, pp.197 ff.

Byzantine emperors revived this practice, at least for the title of *sebastos*, assuring for the crown, or rather for the officials (perhaps the *mesazon?*) charged with this a source of income, while at the same time satisfying the vanity of useful and important citizens. After all, in this period, as we are going to see, important administrative positions, like that of *kephale*, were being bought; it would not be surprising if the same was true for a precious, but empty title.

In chapter IV it will be seen that the high aristocracy liked to demonstrate its contempt for the fiscal activities of people such as those mentioned above. The association of the title of *sebastos* with the financial entrepreneurs could further explain the contempt in which the rank was held by high aristocrats. On the other hand, *sebastoi* may have been quite important at the local level, especially in remote areas, where the presence of the great aristocracy was less felt. The most obvious case is that of the Morea, represented in the list of table II by several local notables, without obvious ties to the administration. It is conceivable that in such cases the attribution of the rank functioned in a different way, being a means by which the government could assure, through flattery, the loyalty of important locals, in areas where strategic reasoning prevailed over financial preoccupations. Western Greece and Thessaly may have represented a similar case. Of course, the pattern of titulature had followed its own evolution in those parts, before they became incorporated in the Empire. Our information concerns almost exclusively the early thirteenth century and, even then, it is not very illuminating. We see that Western *sebastoi* were occasionally quite powerful individuals (like Mpogdanopoulos, Gabras, Kastamonites and Kamonas in our list)[72]. Yet, there are cases like that of Leo Moschopoulos: he was a *sebastos* but he was not very powerful, at least if we accept his assertion that he had been coerced by the local lord to marry a woman he did not want[73]. Could this mean that he had not acquired his title, but had inherited it? Perhaps in

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[72]Mpogdanopoulos had coerced a certain *megalepiphanestatos* to marry his niece (Chom., 517); Gabras acted in a similar way, through the assistence of the local lord, Streazos (Chom., 539); Kastamonites had given to his daughter as dowry a whole village (Bees, Apok., 58 and 169); Kamonas was married first to the daughter of the Albanian lord Ghin and then to the daughter of the king of Serbia (Chom., 1-2)
[73]Chom.,537ff

areas like Epiros and in the absence of any strong imperial authority, *sebastos*, like other titles, namely that of *megalodoxotatos*, began to acquire a hereditary quality.

Perhaps it would not be superfluous to discuss here the evidence of a vernacular poem, the well-known "Poulologos", a title that I would freely translate as "The Bird-watcher". In the poem, as various birds quarrel with each other, the flamingo verbally attacks the pheasant, accusing him of wearing a specific kind of cloth, called *atypin*, and pretending to be a *sebastos*. I translate the relevant passage:

> "Whoever sees you, pheasant, wearing this cloth
> that people call *atypin*, that is adorned with pieces of colour
> red in the outside, then a little yellow
> and deep blue and green, deep red and azure,
> would say that you are a young lord of the Kinnamoi
> or that you are from the East, from the Phouskomatadai,
> or that you are from Belagrada (Berat), from the Sebastadai.
> But you are from Mesothinia, son of a crazy woman,
> and you mother died and left you an inheritance
> and you bought that *atypin* of which you boast
> and you say that you are the son of a *sebastos* from Nicaea..."

The pheasant in his reply angrily rejects the accusation and attacks the flamingo:

> "Do you dare to mock the *atypin* and the *skiadion* given to me
> by the emperor, my lord and lord of all the birds?
> For he certainly happens to be a second cousin of my father..."[74]

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[74] *Ho Poulologos*, ed. I. Tsabare, Athens 1987, verses 271-281: "Ὁπού σὲ βλέπει, ἀφασιανέ, ὅτι φορεῖς τὸ ροῦχον, / αὐτὸ τὸ λέγουν ἀτυπίν, νά'χη τὰς χρὰς κομμάτια,/ παρέξω νά'χη κόκκινον καὶ κίτρινον κομμάτιν,/ καὶ γερανέον καὶ πράσινον, ὀξὺν καὶ τὸ γαλάζιον/ νὰ εἰπῆ ὅτι εἶσαι ἀρχοντόπουλον ἀπὸ τοὺς Κιννααμάδας/ ἢ ὅτι εἶσαι ἐκ τὴν Ἀνατολήν, ἐκ τοὺς Φουσκωματάδας,/ ἢ ὅτι εἶσαι ἐκ τὰ Βελάγραδα, ἀπὸ τοὺς Σεβαστάδας,/ καὶ ἐσὺ εἶσαι ἐκ τὴν Μεσοθυνίαν, κάποιας λωλῆς κοπέλιν,/ καὶ ἀπέθανεν ἡ μάνα σου καὶ ἀφῆκε σε λογάριν,/ καὶ ἠγόρασες τὸ ἀτυπίν, αὐτὸν τὸ καμαρώνεις,/ καὶ λέγεις, σεβαστοῦ παιδὶν ὑπάρχεις ἐκ τὴν Νίκαιαν" and 313-135: "καὶ ἐσὺ γελᾷς τὸ ἀτυπὶν καὶ σκιάδιν τὸ μὲ ἐδῶκεν/ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ αὐθέντης μου καὶ πάντων τῶν ὀρνέων;/ Πάντως γὰρ ἔν' καὶ ἐξάδελφος δεύτερος τοῦ πατρός μου"

The information provided by the passage is very interesting: the rank of *sebastos* appears to be accompanied by a specific kind of costume and headgear (*skiadion*); it is conferred by the emperor to people related to him, yet one can buy at least the insignia. The quasi-hereditary quality of the title is obvious: the pheasant wears the insignia as "a son of a *sebastos*". Equally obvious is the prestige of the title at least at a local level: whenever people see the costume of a *sebastos* they tend to associate the bearer with a noble lineage. There is a major problem, however, and it has to do with the date at which this passage refers. Various indications, particularly references to the compass, to the Tatars and to the Villehardouin of the Morea, point to a date for the extant version of the *Poulologos* after the middle of the thirteenth century, but probably before the loss of Asia Minor[75]. Within the poem, however, various layers of composition are discernible, some going back to the twelfth century, therefore it is not easy to attribute this passage to a specific period. References to the Kinnamadai, a name that is prominent in the twelfth century but not so much afterwards, indicate an early date. The Phouskomatadai and the Sebastadai are fantastic names, possibly nicknames of particular families[76]. The close relationship of the *sebastos* to the emperor would again point to a date before the Palaiologan times, when, as we saw, the title was not borne by important aristocrats. I tend to believe that the passage echoes conditions of the early thirteenth century, when aristocrats from all over the former empire could be found in Asia Minor, among them impostors. Of course, both the nature of the source and the uncertain dating prevent us from connecting that evidence to a particular turning point in the evolution of the title of *sebastos*.

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[75]See the discussion in *Poulologos*, 102-112

[76]In some of the manuscripts instead of "Phouskomatadai" we read "Laskaradai": *Poulologos*, p. 270, app. crit. to verse 276. N. Oikonomides has considered this a reference to the Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond (see references in *Poulologos*, 354, n.219) and thinks that the reference to Nicaea implies a date after 1261, when the aristocrats from Nicaea were returning to Constantinople (ibid., 111, n.58)

The contents and evolution of the second rank-denoting title of our period, that of *megalodoxotatos* have formed the object of a study by N.Oikonomides[77]. Based on a notarial formula for the attribution of *paroikoi* to a *stratiotes*[78], the author concluded that "megalodoxotatos" would be a common title for a pronoia-holder in the thirteenth century, although not necessarily a soldier, in spite of the rubric of the formula ("παράδοσις παροίκων παρὰ τοῦ κατὰ χώραν δουκὸς πρὸς στρατιώτην"). Another notarial formula from the same collection employs "megalodoxotatos" as the standard title of a *praktor* (administator of an imperial property)[79], a case for which there is one known example[80]. To these two formulas, we may add a third, from the Paris collection published by Sathas[81], where "megalodoxotatos" is used as the standard title of the ἐνεργῶν in a katepanikion, that is, a subordinate of the *doux* or the *apographeus* who oversees a fiscal area (katepanikion) that is a subdivision of that controlled by his superiors (the theme). Again we may have examples in the case of Andronikos Mavropodos, subordinate to the *doux* of Thrakesion in 1216[82], or that of George Doukopoulos, subordinate to the *doux* of Thessalonica around 1240[83].

In spite of this parallel, it seems that there was again a difference between the practices in the Nicean empire and those in Western Greece. Table II.b, which completes the one by Oikonomides, shows that, in general, "megalodoxotatos" was more elevated in the West. Yet, a case like that of George Alyates[84], whose father-in-law was a paroikos, hints again that the title may have had a hereditary quality: if Alyates was not a particularly important person, as his marriage indicates, then it is more probable that he inherited his title than that he acquired

[77]N.Oikonomidès, "Contribution à l'étude de la pronoia au XIIIe siècle", *REB* 22(1964), 163-167
[78]First published by G.Ferrari, "Formulari Notarili inediti dell' età bizantina", *Bulletino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano*, No 33, Rome 1912, text no. 8
[79]Ibid., text no.20; Oikonomidès, "Contribution à l'étude de la pronoia au XIIIe siècle", 166
[80]John Eudaimonitzes, in MM VI, 153
[81]Sathas, *MB* VI, 641-2
[82]Patmos II **61**, 138
[83]Goudas, "Βυζαντιακὰ γράμματα τῆς ἐν Ἄθω. ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τοῦ Βατοπεδίου" in *EEBS* 4, 212. The dating is mine, based on the mention of the doux Alexios Pegonites, known to have held office around that time (Chom., 451)
[84]Chom., 423ff

it himself. The most striking testimony to the peculiarity of title-holding practices in those parts is provided by the Aetolian lady Helen Melissene around 1210-1230, who bore the title "megalodoxotate" on her own right and not, as was the standard way, through her husband. She had been married to the *sebastos* Isaac Taronas, yet the rank she continued to bear was the same like that of her two brothers, the *megalodoxotatoi* Alexios and Leon Pyrros[85]. Anyway, after the merging of the two sytems, the title seems to have been quite common in urban milieux, as we can see from the abundance of Thessalonian burghers bearing it in the last decades of the thirteenth and the first of the fourteenth century[86]. Nothing can be said with certainty about the way the rank could be acquired, although again one observes a relative prominence of functionaries of the fiscal and financial administration among its holders.

Megalepiphanestatos and *megalyperochos* seem to have only survived in the West. "Megalepiphanestatos"(table II.d) did not survive the merge of the two aristocratic systems into the Palaiologan one; all mentions date from early thirteenth-century Epiros and Western Macedonia. On the other hand, "megalyperochos"(table II.c) persisted until well into the Palaiologan period, as testified by the three Thessalonians of 1327. Most likely this title had been discontinued in the Nicean state after 1204. Perhaps after the reconquest of the Western provinces it was recognized for those who were already bearing it or wished to acquire that title. One notices, however, that all the late cases of *megalyperochoi* occur in documents of a private nature[87]. Their status is rather low, since they are enumerated after the *stratiotai*[88]. Furthermore, there is noticeable inconsistency in the bearing of the title: Athanasios Kabakes, *oikeios* of the empress, is mentionned several times without the title "megalyperochos" and does not include it in his own, badly spelled, signature[89]. The conclusion may well be that

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85 Bees/Apok., 58ff.

86 In the table these are Kerameas, Koutzoulatos, Goules, Philaretos, Primmikeropoulos, Blattes, Prevezianos, Rhammatas.

87 Esphig.9,74; Zogr.XXV,55-56

88 Zogr.,56

89 Zogr.XXVIII, 65,66,68. One even suspects that Kabakes' inclusion among the *megalyperochoi* was by mistake!

this title survived only in an unofficial level, perhaps being attributed to descendents of *megalyperochoi* by their fellow citizens, but had no official standing whatsoever.

All other titles (table II.e) are represented by unique cases[90]: the "panhyperentimotatos" and "panendoxotatos" belong to the already observed archaism peculiar to the state of the Angeloi-Doukai; the title "protonobelissimos" borne by the Thessalian magnate Marmaras in 1277 is obviously a remnant from a pre-Palaiologan era, since it appears in a very recently reconquered area, without any paralels in the Nicene or Palaiologan state before or after that[91]. More perplexing is the case of the "sebastopanhypertatos" John Apokaukos, who was important enough at the court of Michael VIII to serve as a witness in the 1277 treaty with Venice[92], where he is even mentioned before the *sebastoi*, although he has no office and they do. It is, however, quite likely that he came from the West as well (which may be related to his connection with the Venetians) and his title could well be pre-Palaiologan, although recognized in the Constantinopolitan court.

If one may draw any conclusions from the order in which people are named in documents and sign them, then we realize that in the Palaiologan period only *sebastos* allowed for some distinction at the local level. In a document of 1324, the witnesses are named in the following order: a *sebastos* and *doulos* of the emperor, a simple *doulos* of the emperor, an *endoxotatos* and finally two *entimotatoi archontes*[93]. In another case, from 1322, three *megalodoxotatoi* sign only after the priests, an *oikeios* of the emperor, a reader of the church and a physician[94].

The conclusion from this survey of the rank system, or what remained of it in the late Byzantine period, is that there was no essential connection of the concept of aristocracy to occupation of a certain rank. The former ranks of "sebastos" and "megalodoxotatos" were

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[90]Due to the fragility of the evidence, I have not included "μυρταΐτης", an obscure office mentioned by Ps.Kodinos, which N.Oikonomidès cautiously suggested to be a title, parallel to "sebastos", based on a tentative reading of Doch. 11, line 16, p. 119 (ibid., p.117).
[91]MM IV, 419-420
[92]MM III, 96
[93]Iviron III **81**, 288/9. In the signatures, one of the archontes, who also was a "depotatos" of the church, passed before the *endoxotatos*.
[94]Chil.**85**, 183-185

essentially the only ones that survived into the Palaiologan period, but they did so only as titles granted to individuals with no privileges or obligations attached to them and through an unclear process that may have involved title-mongering. It is true that at the lower limits of the aristocracy these titles, especially "sebastos", provided successful individuals with a means of differentiating themselves socially, of somehow indicating their advancement into a more elevated status. It is striking, however, that among the higher aristocratic milieux these titles were unimportant, even to be avoided.

C. Offices of the Court

The study of the patterns of office-holding remains perhaps the single most important source of information about not only the internal stratification, but the very nature of the late Byzantine aristocracy. It is extremely important to know what kind of individuals tended to hold particular offices and to find out whether we can discern particular subgroups within the aristocracy of office holding. These subgroups can be sought in two directions: according to the order of precedence of the office and according to its nature -civilian or military, functional or decorative. The first step to this research was the creation of the list in table I, which I have tried to make as complete as possible for the period under study. I have deliberately omitted the highest ranking dignities of Despot and Sebastocrator, which were exclusively reserved for the closest relatives -sons and brothers- of the emperor, as well as certain officials of non-courtly nature that were usually included in the fourteenth century precedence lists. These were either officials of the Constantinopolitan Church, (Archdeacon, Grand Orator, etc.) who, as the latest among the lists show us, tended to become quite prominent in the imperial court after the mid-fourteenth century, or officials with specialized functions not connected with the court or the administration, such as the *aktouarios*, the court-doctor. Before proceeding to the analysis of that list, perhaps a brief excursus on the office system under the first Palaiologoi is necessary.

A series of important works, culminating with J. Verpeaux's commented edition of the fourteenth century precedence lists and treatises, have shed considerable light on issues of the evolution of this system[95]. The main points to be kept in mind are the following: i) former dignities merge with actual offices of the court and administration in a single hierarchy, which does not depend on the nature of the function exercised; ii) in this single hierarchy there are breaks, indicated by different ceremonial tasks and attire. Thus, a group of highest officials could be admitted at certain ceremonies before the group of those who followed them hierarchically; staffs of different material and colour distinguished the high from the middle officials, whereas the lowest ones had no staff at all; iii) these breaks do not present any overall and enduring coherence, since the whole system of precedence was continuously being revised for the sake of individuals. It was apparently easier to change the order of precedence in favor of a certain office, than to advance the individual to a higher office that might have been occupied by someone else. The cases of Theodore Metochites and John Kantakouzenos, in whose favor the precedence of their respective offices, Grand Logothete and Grand Domestic, was changed, are the best known, yet they must not have been the only ones; iv) many offices which used to have a real administrative content gradually lost it and remained as purely ceremonial. This had been a permanent tendency of the system, since the late Roman times, but it seems that in the late period this phenomenon occurred at an unprecedented pace; v) appointment to the offices took place through an imperial decree and was for an unlimited period of tenure. An office could be held for life, unless interrupted by promotion or disgrace.

There are, however, several points that remain unclear. Were these offices unique to individuals, or could they be held by several persons at a time? Although the opposite has

[95]Serious research was initiated by the work of R.Guilland (*Recherches sur les institutions byzantines I-II*, Berlin-Amsterdam 1968 and the articles reprinted in *Titres et fonctions de l'empire byzantin*, London, Variorum, 1976); more specialized works are J.Verpeaux, "Hierarchie et préséances sous les Paléologues", *TM* 1(1965), 421-437; A.Grabar, "Pseudo-Codinos et les cérémonies de la Cour byzantine au XIVe siècle", in *Art et societé à Byzance sous les Paléologues*, Venice 1971, 193-221; L.P.Raybaud, *Le gouvernement et l' administration centrale de l'empire byzantin sous les premiers Paléologues*, Paris 1968 (hereafter Raybaud, *Le gouvernement)*; most important is Verpeaux, *Ps.Kodinos*. The points presented here are based on all of the above works.

been maintained, the table would tend, with certain reservations, to support the first answer: most offices could only be held by one person at a time. Since this is a point of extreme importance for understanding the internal antagonisms among the aristocracy, we should attempt to examine and explain the cases which do not conform to this rule.

Most of these exceptions concern tenures of office in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Some of them can be explained by the situation during the major civil war of 1341-1347, when one side would procede to promotion or deposition of office holders which the other side would not recognize. Thus, for example, the *panhypersebastos* Nikephoros Orsini (Angelos Doukas) who sided with John Kantakouzenos in 1341, was considered deposed by the regency in Constantinople, which promoted the loyalist Isaac Asan to his dignity[96]. The same may well be true with the Kantakouzenist *protostrator* George Phakrases and his Constantinopolitan counterpart, Andrea Facciolati, whose title Kantakuzenos recognizes only after the compromise of 1347[97]. In 1341 the *protosebastos* Constantine Palaiologos sided with Kantakouzenos. He was captured by his opponents in 1342, but already before that, the regency had promoted John Rhaoul Gabalas to his office, presumably because his treason rendered it vacant. On the pretender's side, his successors are the *protosebastoi* Leon Kalothetos and Kontophre. Kantakouzenos' staunch opponent, Alexios Metochites, who governed Thessalonica with Zealot support, bore the same title (ostensibly after Gabalas' demise)[98].

It should be noted here that a lot of the information about office-holders during the period 1321-1354 comes from Kantakouzenos himself, through his memoires. In several cases, however, the retired emperor is commiting errors in the chronology of tenure, or, more

[96]Kantak.I, 534; II, 218
[97]Ibid.II, 585; III, 63, 74, 75, 195, 196
[98]Delehaye, *Deux typica*, 13; Kantak.II, 256(C.Palaiologos); ibid., 139, 218, 437 (promotion of Gabalas); Doch.**21**, 162; Kutlum.**20**, 91; Chil.**132**, 277; Phil.**VIII**, 23; Zog.**XXXVI**, 88; Lappa-Zizicas, "Un chrysobulle inédit en faveur du monastère des Saints Anargyres de Kosmidion", 266 (mentions of the same as John Rhaoul); Kantak.II, 553; MM III, 119 (Kalothetos); Kantak.II, 589 (Kontophre: PLP, like Schopen's Latin translation, fails to interpret the phrase correctly. "Κοντοφραὶ τῷ πρωτοσεβαστῷ ὄντι ἐπιτηδείῳ" means "Kontophre, the protosebastos, who was an acquaintance [of theirs]" and not "Kontophre, who was an acquaintance of the protosebastos", which does not make any historical sense in that context); Kantak.III, 104, 108 (Metochites)

precisely, is attributing to individuals the offices they were to hold at some point in a chronological context earlier than the actual beginning of their tenure. Whether he was doing so due to a failing memory or because he was indifferent to accuracy in that case is a question that matters little for our present purposes[99]. Wherever such misplacements have been clearly noticed by previous scholarship, or identified by me as such with a high degree of certainty, I have only given the corrected dates in table I. The same phenomenon, however, could explain some further cases that appear as overlapping, but where there is no certain evidence for their correction, like the *protostrator* Constantine Tarchaneiotes in 1351 (the anachronism becomes more obvious if he is identified with the monk-protostrator Manasses Tarchaneiotes of 1364: it would be a further indication that Kantakouzenos attributes to that individual in 1351 an office that he would hold later)[100], or the *protosebastoi* Leo Kalothetos and Kontofre in 1346.

In a most characteristic case, Kantakouzenos states that Andronikos Palaiologos (Angelos) and George Choumnos were simultaneously promoted to *Megaloi Stratopedarchai* in the winter of 1341[101]. Kantakouzenos, who had no contact with Constantinople at that time, may either be confusing two promotions that were separated by a few months, or perhaps the promotions did take place simultaneously, but certainly in anticipation of Andronikos Palaiologos' advancement to the office of *Protostrator*, which was probably pending. The reason for waiting would be that the incumbent *protostrator*, Theodore Synadenos, had not yet clarified his position on the issue of Kantakouzenos' revolt.

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99 Kantakouzenos is not following a consistent practice of referring to individuals by the highest office that they were to obtain: Theodore Synadenos, for example, is prematurely referred to as *protostrator* in 1321, but the highest title that he would occupy was *protovestiarios*, in 1342. The main argument against failing memory is that he also refers to himself in 1321 by his later office of Grand Domestic: he cannot have forgotten that at the time he was Grand Papias! I tend to believe that he deliberately attempts to exalt the position that Andronikos III's collaborators in 1321 occupied in the court; yet this explanation cannot be applied to all cases.

100 Kantak.III, 196,237 (in all other instances he does not refer to Constantine Tarchaneiotes as protostrator); Goudas, "Βυζαντιακὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς ἐν Ἄθῳ Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τοῦ Βατοπεδίου", *EEBS* 4, 244ff

101 Kantak.II, 218. In this passage, Kantakouzenos certainly wants to convey the idea of his opponents' arrogant self-aggrandizement on the occasion of John V's coronation and is likely to disregard chronological accuracy.

Few cases of overlapping tenure do not fall under the above categories: Manuel Laskaris, brother of Theodore I, is mentioned by Akropolites as becoming *protosebastos* already in 1255[102]. It may well be, however, that Akropolites is anticipating his tenure of the office, as he is anticipating by far his assumption of the monastic habit, calling him a monk in 1255 although documents of 1259 mention his wife[103]. Lascaris' tenure, therefore does not necessarily overlap with that of the ill-starred George Mouzalon, between 1255-1258. The *pinkernes* Libadarios assumed his office in 1272 not in a shared manner with the actual holder, but as a member of the "shadow-court" granted by Michael VIII to his son and co-emperor, Andronikos II, although after the latter's accession to power Libadarios became in fact the "real" holder of the office[104]. The *epi ton anamneseon* Logaras may have been an official of the Constantinopolitan Church (where there existed an office of the same name) rather than a colleague of Constantine Spinges.

This leaves us with the only cases of double tenure that accept no challenge: The two *protohierakarioi*, Demetrios Komes and Iagoupes and the three *protallagatores*, Gazes and the two brothers Melanchrenoi, all of whom are mentioned as witnesses in the same document of1344[105]. It will be noted that the offices concerned are quite low and that the document in question comes from a time and place that could justify atypical situations: Zealot Thessalonica. In any case, these two instances cannot challenge the major conclusion, that, as a rule, offices were granted to one person at a time and a post should be vacated before someone else could be promoted to it. This realization is very useful for prosopographic purposes (like the identification of the Protosebastos and then Grand Logothete Gabalas with his contemporary, the Protosebastos and then Grand Logothete who

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[102]Akrop.I, 123
[103]Ibid., 122. But see Pach.I.i, 113, 153, who places the event after the disgrace of 1259 and must be right: To me, there is no doubt that our Manuel Laskaris (PLP 14551), the *protosebastos* who fell in disgrace in 1259 is identical with the husband of Michael VIII's niece, the *protosebastos* Manuel Laskaris (PLP 14550), who, apart from the identity of name and office, also fell in disgrace in 1259! See Patmos I **27**, 248; **28**, 252
[104]Pachym. I.ii, 413
[105] Doch.**23**, 170, 171

signs as John Rhaoul[106]) and for completing the existing information about dates of tenure. Above all, if it can be established that holding a court office was an essential point of advancement in a late Byzantine aristocrat's personal career, then we begin to get an impression of the conditions of stark competitiveness that surrounded the promotion to offices.

Another observation, related to the one above, is that, as it appears, individuals would normally only occupy one office at a time. There are some exceptions to this rule: in his sweeping reform in the winter of 1255, Theodore II gave to his friend, George Mouzalon, until then *megas domestikos*, the combined offices of *protosebastos, protovestiarios* and *megas stratopedarches*. Michael Tarchaneiotes, *megas domestikos* since 1272, added to his office that of *protovestiarios* after his successful command at Berat in 1281. Two years later, the year of his death, a document refers to him as *protosebastos, protovestiarios* and *megas domestikos*. Andronikos Palaiologos (Angelos) held the combined dignities of *protosebastos* and *protovestiarios* for at least two years before his death in 1328. As we can see, in all three cases we have to do with the same two titles -*protosebastos* and *protovestiarios*- combined, to which occasionally a third can be added. The combination of a military office (*megas domestikos, megas stratopedarches*) with purely honorific dignities can be explained by the emperors' wish to advance an individual in the hierarchy while continuing to employ him in his capacity as military commander. It is not clear, however, why two dignities without specific charges would be combined. The answer may lie in the tradition inherited from a period when titles (like *protosebastos*) and offices (like *protovestiarios*) would be combined at court. The combination of these two in particular was attested in the twelfth century[107], but it is hard to see if there was a more precise reason behind it.

The most obvious conclusion from studying the list of office holders is the broad correspondence between hierarchical rank and individual status: On the one hand, almost all

[106]See the argument to the contrary in E.Lappa-Zizicas, "Un chryobulle inconnu en faveur du monastère des Saints Anargyres de Kosmidion", *TM* 8(1981), 260-261. There is no good reason to place the disgrace of John Gabalas before October 1344, when John Rhaoul's signature appears in a document.
[107]E.g. John Komnenos (Barzos #128)

of the occupants of the highest ofices are characterized as, or known to be, relatives of the emperor, while such instances become extremely rare as one reaches towards the low ranking offices. An examination of the family name patterns yields similar results: The high offices are dominated by persons bearing a few well known illustrious family names[108], whose distinction often goes back well into the twelfth century and even earlier. These family names become more scarce as one reaches towards the low ranking offices. This correspondence is not clear-cut, however. Even the highest offices are not immune to penetration by individuals who may be of great personal power or prestige, yet are not part of the "μεγαλογενὴς σειρὰ καὶ χρυσῆ". In order, therefore, to categorize the office holders into subgroups, it is not enough to distinguish between high and low offices. Paying more attention to the specific contents of each office throws considerable further light on this pattern.

Scholars have paid unsufficient heed to the question of the actual functions attached to offices during the late period. The explanation for this omission lies very probably in the fact that the main source followed by everybody with regard to offices is, quite naturally, the treatise by Pseudo-Kodinos. It is well known that, in the section devoted to the functions of the various offices, Pseudo-Kodinos states that only a few still kept some function whereas most of the offices ended up being empty titles. It seems from his presentation that the real function of several offices had actually been forgotten by the time he was writing. This would be perfectly believable: for centuries Roman and Byzantine public offices had ended up as purely honorific dignities, deprived of any functional content. Furthermore, certain particular cases confirm the general impression. For example, the *eparchos* Michael Senachereim Monomachos is only encountered in the sources in the quality of army commander and administrator without any connection to the function of the ancient prefect of Constantinople,

[108]In order to simplify the argumentation here, I group together as "illustrious family names" the names mentioned by Pachymeres in the famous passage at I.i.91-93: Laskaris. Tornikes, Strategopoulos, Rhaoul, Batatzes, Philes, Kaballarios, Nostongos, Kamytzes, Aprenos, Angelos, Libadarios, Tarchaneiotes, Philanthropenos, Kantakouzenos. To these we should obviously add Palaiologos and the later arrivals, Asan and Synadenos. It should be noted that even in this passage Pachymeres is talking about individuals of high birth and not of great families: see the relevant remarks in Ch.IV of this study.

confirming the relative passage of Pseudo-Kodinos[109]. Yet, there are some points that need to be taken into account in order to evaluate Pseudo-Kodinos' information fully. First, this anonymous work was intended solely as a guide through the protocol of the imperial court, ignoring almost completely the connection of the offices to the administration. This is made clear by the contents of chapter three, "On the function of each office"-"Περὶ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας ἑκάστου τῶν ὀφφικίων"[110]. Almost all of the functions presented there fall into two categories: functions to be performed while campaigning with the army and functions to be performed while serving the emperor during court ceremonies. The main purpose is clearly to assign to each official his proper ceremonial duties so as to avoid possible friction. The only administrative tasks represented are the two most relevant to protocol: composing and sealing imperial documents, represented by the Grand Logothete and the *Parakoimomenos* of the Seal, respectively. Information that does not fall in the above categories is only cited parenthetically, as an unofficial comment, and very often is but an extrapolation on the etymology, true or false: the *Megas Hetaireiarches* welcomes the "hetairoi", the fugitive friends; the *Protasecretis* is the first of the "kritai", the judges; the *Mystikos* had a function "that can be deduced by the appelation itself". These parenthetical comments are occasionally well-informed, as in the case of the *domestikoi* of the themes who "used to be the caretakers and supervisors of public finances in those parts", yet they do not change the fact that the author generally ignores the sphere of public administration. This may be related to a second important factor, the date of the treatise. This is not known with certainty, but Verpeaux's opinion that the text dates from the third quarter of the fourteenth century enjoys a wide consensus. For our purposes, this means that the treatise reflects the court at a time when the imperial administrative system had broken down, or at least shrunk to an absolute minimum. Its comments on the functions of offices cannot automatically be taken as representative of the situation before the civil war of 1341-1347. It is worth therefore

[109]Ps.Kodinos, 178, states that, like the Megas Papias, the Eparch used earlier to have an unknown function, but had none in his time. For Monomachos see Kantak.I, 473; II, 190,236
[110]Ps.Kodinos, 167-188. All the examples mentioned here refer to this passage.

studying more closely the actual functions that were officially or by custom associated with the various offices, based on the information we have about their holders.

The top of the hierarchy was occupied by individuals closely related to the emperor and its offices were purely honorific in nature. The *despotai* and the *sebastocratores* were always close relatives, sons and brothers of the emperors, not including the members of the ruling family of Western Greece (the Angeloi-Komnenoi-Doukai and later -Orsini) whose titles were occasionally recognized by the Empire. The dignities of Caesar and *panhypersebastos* were also honorific, being bestowed upon close associates and relatives of the emperor. None of the known *protovestiarioi* had anything to do with the actual Vestiarion, the imperial treasury. Among them we encounter both persons with military activities (like Andronikos Palaiologos Angelos) and bureaucrats of the administration (like Theodore Mouzalon). On the other hand, the offices of Grand Duke, Grand Domestic and *protostrator* have an explicitly military character, which is confirmed by what we know about the careers of the actual office holders who consistently appear in the sources in the capacity of military commanders. One notable exception is that of Alexios Apokaukos, whose background was "civilian". It is well known, however, that once he assumed the office of *megas doux* he undertook military activities and apparently was seen as a successful commander[111]. Another important observation is that all the occupants of those offices, at least until the second civil war, bear illustrious family names and are relatives of the emperors.

When compared to the above, the office immediately following in the hierarchy, that of Grand Logothete, seems to be connected to a radically different category of people. First, all incumbents are bureaucrats, not warriors[112]. Although some of them bear appelations

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[111]Kantak.II, 225, 243, 253, 277, 293, 327, 333, 357, 432-3, 479; Greg.II, 634, 658ff, 708; see also the dedicatory poem from the Paris Hippocrates (published in Greg.II, 1257): "Σὺ δὲ στρατηγὲ τῶν ἀρίστων Αὐσόνων,/ Κοινὲ στρατάρχα τῶν διπλῶν στρατευμάτων,/ Ὁ γῆν τε καὶ θάλατταν ἀσχέτως τρέχων/...". In fact, Apokaukos was probably the only Grand Duke to actually command a fleet after the dissolution of the navy by Andronikos II, but, as the above passages make clear, his command was not only maritime.

[112]One may object to this: see for example George Akropolites' command in the Balkans in 1256-57 (Akrop.I, 139ff). It is clear however, that Theodore II's promotion of his learned close friends to such

denoting kinship to the emperor, none of them is a blood relative. In their case kinship came to consolidate their new position after they had acquired their office (this is the case of George Akropolites and Theodore Metochites; admittedly, we do not know how John Gabalas became an "uncle" of John V). Their origins, though not low, lie outside the circle of imperial relatives[113]: George Akropolites was the son of Constantinopolitan civil officials entrusted to the court of John III and was destined for the administration from an early age, when he was sent to study with Nikephoros Blemmydes. His rapid ascent was due to his friendship with Theodore II. Theodore Mouzalon' s origins are not known, but it is very possible that he was related to the ill-fated family of Theodore II's collaborators, whose careers paralleled that of Akropolites. Theodore Metochites was the son of a disgraced Church official and made his way up through the imperial *logothesia*, until his skills and education caught the attention of Andronikos II. We see here too a pattern of generational continuity that is not unique to this office: two of the occupants, Constantine Akropolites and Nikephoros Metochites are sons of previous incumbents, although they did not directly succeed their fathers.

If the Grand Logothete is a bureaucrat's office, that of the *Megas Stratopedarches* is a military one. Pseudo-Kodinos specifies its functions as pertaining to the provisioning of the army, but the sources show that its occupants could also exercise command[114]. Again, one observes that the illustrious family names are present in the list, but this time their dominance is not absolute. It may not be a coincidence that no less than three of the known *Megaloi Stratopedarchai* are characterized by the sources as "not noble", on various occasions[115].

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positions was exceptional and should be considered within the framework of that emperor's opposition to the military aristocracy. In fact, Akropolites may well have escaped the purge of 1258 thanks to his captivity. Afterwards he compromised fully with the new regime, but was never again associated with the army. Chapter V deals in more detail with those events.

[113]On the formation and composition of this circle under the Palaiologoi see chapter IV.

[114]For example John Synadenos, in Pach.I.ii, 527,645; Libadarios in Pach.II, 210, 222; Angelos Senachereim in Pach.II, 549, 551; or Andronikos Palaiologos in Kantak.II, 225, 236.

[115]Manuel Tagaris, in Kantak.I, 91 and Gabalas ep., 205ff (see also D. Nicol, "Philadelpheia and the Tagaris family", *Neo-Hellenica* I, 1970, 9-17); Sphrantzes, in Kantak.I, 451; John Vatatzes in Greg.II, 741. The same case could be also made for George Mouzalon, the favourite of Theodore II, but he can be considered as exceptional.

Two others, George Choumnos and George Tagaris are only second-generation members of the high aristocracy (sons of Nikephoros Choumnos and Manuel Tagaris respectively, who both made their way up from relatively mediocre origins). Already in the ninth position of the court hierarchy and in the fourth most important office reserved for the military aristocrats, the hold of the high aristocracy of imperial relatives begins to loosen, demonstrating the uncertain and vague boundaries between aristocratic strata.

The office of *Megas Primmikerios*, in spite of its distant origins, is one with no specific duties, but of military character, as shown by its holders[116]. The Grand Constable is also a military office, but of a more specific character (commanding the Western mercenaries). Both offices are dominated by aristocrats of high birth. On the other hand, the "prefect of the inkwell", the *epi tou kanikleiou*, is a bureaucrat, at least until and through the time of Nikephoros Choumnos. We do not know whether the office later loses its actual function. Gabras Meliteniotes is connected with the circle of corresponding litterati, whereas Manuel Angelos is a former judge (*katholikos krites*) and student of Gregoras. Neither is connected to the military or to the aristocracy of high birth[117]. *Protosebastos* is purely honorific, as we have seen. All the incumbents between 1259 and the time of the civil war are aristocrats of high birth who are the emperor's relatives. High birth characterizes also the office of *Pinkernes*. Although once it denoted the imperial butler, in our period it is attributed to individuals of the military aristocracy who are encountered in the sources as exercising command. The *parakoimomenoi* are of mixed character both as regards their family origin and as regards their military or civilian nature[118]. Both known *kouropalatai* were successful army commanders, but the sample is too small to allow us to recognize a pattern. The nature

[116]For example John Angelos (Akrop.I, 114); Michael Tarchaneiotes (Pach.Iii, 385); Kassianos (Pach.II, 524)

[117]For Meliteniotes, see Gabras Ep., II 244. Perhaps related or identical to the ambassador (PLP 17847) or the poet (PLP 17848) of the same last name. For Angelos, Greg.III, 152; MM I, 345. His family name should not confuse us, since it was already by the 13th c. quite common in the middle and even low classes.

[118]For example Constantine Nestongos was a military commander (Pach.Iii, 599), bearer of a distinguished name and uncle of Andronikos II (MM IV, 257); on the other hand, Alexios Apokaukos was a fiscal entrepreneur who exercised military command only towards the end of his tenure as *parakoimomenos*, while his "low" origin is a favorite topic of Kantakouzenos and Gregoras.

of the office of *protovestiarites* is unclear from the sources and the origins of its holders are mixed. Like the *pinkernes,* the offices of *domestikos tes trapezes* and *epi tes trapezes* were once connected to service at the emperor's table but in our period their occupants follow, as far as we can tell, military careers. For the most part their origins are in the high aristocracy, or they are accepted into it[119]. The office of *logothetes tou genikou* is occupied by individuals who all were later promoted to Grand Logothete, therefore the observations made about the latter office are also valid for the former. The specialized, bureaucratic orientation of the occupants belies Pseudo-Kodinos' information that the office had no actual charge. For most of the period under examination this office nust have played an important role in the administration, probably in the field of finances, but we do not know in what exactly this consisted (the old fiscal department of the *genikon* does not appear in the sources any longer in this period). The occupants of the office of *megas papias* seem also to be aristocratic military commanders. The problem is presented by the *κοσμοκαλόγηροι* Tzamplakones, father and son, who although politically active, even as commanders, are, because of their monastic vows, unlikely to have taken part in battles. In general, however, the office should be set in the same category as the *pinkernes* or the *epi tes trapezes*. It is generally accepted that the office of the prefect of Constantinople, the *eparchos*, never reacquired its traditional duties again after 1204. This opinion, however, should be reconsidered. In fact, a letter of Gregory of Cyprus from the time of his patriarchate (1282-1289) clearly presents the anonymous *eparchos* of the time as being in charge of controlling the provisioning of the city in livestock, assisted by his staff. The prefect's staff is also mentioned in another letter of the same author (*οἱ ἐπαρχικοί, οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐπάρχου οἰκίας*)[120]. It may be in performance of his duties that Manuel Mouzalon was sent with his men to impose the emperor's will against the Genoese of Galata in 1275[121]. It is clear however that not long after the time of

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[119]Like George Choumnos, son of Nikephoros, or Phokas Maroules. The latter's origins are obscure, yet he gor married to a Synadene, as can be inferred from his son's last name:Patr.Reg.II 135, 274
[120]Greg. Cyp. Ep., letters 126, 132
[121]Pach.I.ii, 543

Hypertimos and Chalkeopoulos, who were despoiled of their insignia by Andronikos II[122], the office of *eparchos* did in fact lose its function and was attributed to a different kind of people. While Chadenos had a career in the fiscal administration, Monomachos was a prominent army commander. Palaiologos, a Thessalonian notable was leader of τὸ ναυτικὸν during the Zealot uprising[123]. Isaris had been *Megas Droungarios* of the fleet and may have ventured in the business of fiscal "apographai"[124].

Using the prosopographical approach employed above we draw similar conclusions for the remaining offices of the hierarchy[125]. In table I, I have indicated next to each office if its holders were mostly following a military career, or a career in civil administration. Whenever the evidence was not sufficient -and this is quite common in the case of the low-ranking offices- I did not indicate anything, although a few cases of information about individual holders or their families would point towards a specific character of the office[126]. Before summing up the results of this survey, it should be pointed out that, in most cases, attributing a particular character to an office does not mean that it had a predetermined specific duty attached to it. It means, rather, that a kind of tradition was formed, whereby individuals of a particular background and vocation -for example aristocrats who were raised up in anticipation of a military career and trained in the art of war- preferred certain particular offices, whereas others -for example successful fiscal entrepreneurs- preferred other offices.

122Ibid.II, 517

123The nature of his position and of the *nautikon* in general is discussed in ch.V of this study

124Patmos I **35**, 283; MM IV, 285 (for Chadenos); Kantak.II, 575 (for Palaiologos); MM III, 114; Doch. **23**, 171; Lavra III **129**, 41 (for Isaris); for Monomachos, see supra, note 109

125Among the isolated instances where the function of an office holder is indicated, I cite the administrative charges of the *Megas Logariastes* Const. Chadenos (Patmos I **35**, 283) and of the *Megaloi Adnoumiastai* Hyaleas and M. Neokaisareites (Iviron III **72**, 186 and Chil.**103**, **104** ,214-216) who were responsible for correcting abuses and property disputes; three officials, the *prokathemenos tou bestiariou* J.Kannaboures, N. Meliteniotes (who had perhaps been *logothetes tou stratiotikou* in 1325) and the *mystikos* Manuel Kinnamos are described as public (Meliteniotes) or imperial (Kannaboures and Kinnamos) treasurers (Philes/Gedeon, 247-8; Gabras Ep.,73; Kantak.II, 223; Iviron III **82**, 294; Kantak.II, 99); the *prokathemenos tou vestiariou* was also responsible for granting villages to dignitaries in the Asiatic provinces, as late as 1280/81 (Doch. **9**, 108 -but in Europe, in the same period and during the next century this task was the responsibility of the *apographeis)*; the *logothetes ton agelon* Pepagomenos had the authority to restitute stolen horses (Philes I, 230).

126One example of the uncertainty of our information: all three known *primmikerioi tes aules* were army commanders; but in one of his letters, patriarch Athanasios I mentions the *primmikerios* as being among those who collect taxes ("ἐνεργεῖν" -Athanasius Ep., 42)

The pattern allows for exceptions. Yet, the consistency and regularity of this division in spite of its non-institutionalized character is remarkable. An important observation is that the alternatives of advancement of any individual entering the aristocracy of offices would be limited to a specific group of offices, depending on the individual's personal calling, skill and family tradition.

The first career group is that of the aristocracy of military command. The offices pertaining to it begin with the important offices of military commanders (*Megas Doux, Megas Domestikos, Protostrator, Megas Stratopedarches, Megas Primmikerios, Megas Konostaulos, Pinkernes,* et c.) and end with the *stratopedarchai* and *protallagatores*. In the middle, stand offices like the *Megas Papias* or the *Megas Hetaireiarches*. This career track is the only one that appeals to the aristocracy of high birth. The emperor's close relatives are the exclusive occupants of the three highest military offices. Most of them begin their careers in the middle offices, building up their reputation and their position in court. In spite of the strikingly aristocratic character of its leadership, the army is also the means of advancement of succesful officers coming from the lower strata, the gentry of provincial cities (like Manuel Tagaris), or, perhaps, the ranks of the *stratiotai*. That such "non-noble" individuals can reach as high as the office of *megas stratopedarches*, is a sign of surprising social mobility. In some cases, children or other relatives build upon the achievement of their parents and the social ascension lasts over several generations. A characteristic example is that of the Tzamplakon family: under John III, a Tzamplakon becomes *domestikos ton scholon* (not a military office, but one that permits the creation of an important fortune since it pertains to the fiscal administration). His children obviously exploited the father's influence and affluence and followed military careers at the middle level: One son became *megas hetaireiarches* and another (or perhaps a grandson) ended up as *megas papias* (with the monastic name Antonios). One of the two, or a brother, held the office of *tatas tes aules* in Andronikos II's shadow court in 1272. Of the third generation, at first only one son of Antonios, Alexios (Arsenios as a monk), managed to reach an office of importance, at a time of intense

competition (1320's). He became *megas tzaousios* and, at the death or retirement of his father in 1332-1333, *megas papias*. His staunch support of John Kantakouzenos made the fortune of his two brothers, Demetrios and Asomatianos who rose to the highest offices of *M.Doux* and *M.Stratopedarches*[127]. An interesting, though by no means surprising conclusion from studying the cases of upward mobility in the middle and high military offices is that it increases in periods of trouble, in particular after the war between the two Andronikoi. By contrast, the long period of the consecutive reigns of Michael VIII and Andronikos II, presents a much more uniform pattern of entrenchment of the aristocracy of high birth in the high and middle military offices, with minimum mobility.

Even among the high aristocrats occupying military offices there is not a uniform pattern of a military family tradition. Sons of bureaucrats who had reached the highest administrative posts follow military carreers, with most prominent cases the sons of the two famous *mesazontes* of Andronikos II: of the sons of Nikephoros Choumnos, John led successful expeditions against the Turks as *parakoimomenos*, while George became first *epi tes trapezes* and then *Megas Stratopedarches*[128]. Alexios, son of Theodore Metochites became *Megas Domestikos*[129]. There is no indication that the aristocracy of military family tradition was hostile to either category of *parvenus*, those who originated in the low military ranks or those whose parents were bureaucrats. On the contrary, the acceptance seems to be complete, notwithstanding the occasional hint due to the ever present "byzantine snobbery". In the few cases where the wrath and hatred of the traditional aristocracy is aroused, this is due to individuals coming from different career tracks, who suddenly penetrate their ranks

[127]All the evidence for these carreers can be found in G.I.Theocharides, "Οἱ Τζαμπλάκωνες. Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν Μακεδονικὴν προσωπογραφίαν τοῦ ΙΔ´ αἰῶνος", *Makedonika* 5(1961-63), 125-183 (hereafter, Theocharides, "Tzamplakones"). My interpretation, however differs at points, particularly as concerns the identification of Alexios with Arsenios and not his father Antonios: Theocharides' identification of Alexios with Antonios rests on an early mention of Alexios as Grand Papias by Kantakouzenos. Yet, as it has been mentioned, that author is notorious for his tendency to attribute to individuals offices that they would only occupy later.
[128]Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, 290; Choumn. Ep., 55-56 (John Choumnos); Kantak.II, 20, 218; MM I, 176, 188, 223 (George Choumnos)
[129]See PLP 17977

thanks to intrigue or favoritism: most notable instances are those of two favorites, the Mouzalones, and a businessman, Alexios Apokaukos.

The other career track, that of public administration, presents a much greater homogeneity as to the social and professional background of its members. They come from the middle aristocracy of the cities. Generally they are well educated, often they are intellectuals. Sometimes they have a long family tradition of public service behind them, like the Choumnoi[130] or the Alyatai[131], others had close relations with the Church administration. One of them, the *logothetes tou dromou* John Glykys made his carreer the stepping stone to the patriarchate, which he assumed in 1315 as John XIII. Most of their careers begin with a good education either in Constantinople or in the provincial cities of their origin. The correspondence of the period gives us a vivid imace of this large pool of educated candidates for the ecclesiastical and civil administration, avidly seeking the patronage of the powerful through flattery and display of their litterary and oratorical skills, while living amidst moderate hardships, greatly exaggerated by genre tradition[132]. Those who were lucky enough to secure an office would follow a much more distinguished carreer, whose prizes were the bishoprics for the ecclesiastical, or the high ranking administrative offices for the court dignitaries. The latter would begin their cursus honorum probably in the various *logothesia*. Unfortunately, we do not know much about the actual division of administrative functions among these. It is doubtful whether they still corresponded to the departments denoted by their names or even if they existed as independent bureaus at all. Perhaps all that remained of them were the names, attributed honorifically to the subordinates and assistants

130Among them, a *megas chartoularios* under Isaac II (Choum. Ep., 189), a fiscal official in the early 13th c.(MM IV, 148), a *mystikos* and *hypertimos* of the Church under Michael VIII (Pach.I.ii, 483 probably identical with the "John" of Greg. Cyp. Ep., letter no.8). The latter two are probably the grandfather and father of Nikephoros Choumnos.

131Andronikos Alyates was *epi tou kanikleiou* in 1197(Nik. Choniates, 479, app.crit.), whereas Nikephoros Alyates held the same office under Theodore II(Akrop.I, 155). Another branch of Alyatai were active in the administration of Western Greece in the early 13th c.(Bees/Apok., 78, 92; Chom., 479)

132For a collective portrait of the intellectuals of this period see I.Ševčenko, "Society and Intellectual Life in the Fourteenth Century", esp. 69-76. Ševčenko identifies ninety-one intellectuals, to whom fifty-nine more are added by A.P.Kazhdan, "The Fate of the Intellectual in Byzantium", *The Grek Orthodox Theological Review* 27(1982), 92-96.

of the Grand Logothete or the Mesazon, whenever there was one. On the other hand, the homogeneity of the group leaves no doubt as to the fact that the occupants of these offices were indeed bureaucrats of the administration, even if their specific duties were not predetermined. Together with the *logothesia* we should count administrative posts such as the *Megas Adnoumiastes*, the *epi ton deeseon*, the *protasecretis*, the *mystikos*, the *epi tou kanikleiou*. As is well known, the highest ranking among these officials would become the closest collaborators of the emperor and would often be "ennobled" through marriage connections.

It has been already observed that their offspring sometimes were promoted to their fathers' careers, but more often they were integrated into the aristocracy of military commanders. Already before Choumnos and Metochites, the example had been set by the Tornikioi, a prominent family of bureaucrats and churchmen in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. After the successful carreer of Demetrios Tornikes, the *Mesazon* of Theodore I and John III, who never assumed any other office, his family became indistinguishable from other high aristocrats, relatives of the emperor and of a predominantly military vocation[133]. A parallel story may be that of the family of the *protasecretis* Michael Senachereim the "bad", who was himself an intellectual (he had taught rhetoric and poetry in Nicaea and corresponded with Theodore II). It is very likely that his success opened the way for the military Senachereim, who are probably his relatives or descendents and who included a Grand Domestic in 1296, a *pinkernes* and then Grand Stratopedarch in the first decades of the fourteenth century and several more obscure military officials later.

There is, however, a third category of officials, whose activities distinguish them both from the military-oriented aristocrats and from the intellectual bureaucrats, although they often share the social origins of the latter. This group consists of the "entrepreneurs", businessmen involved in profiteering from the exercise of the public finances, mostly through

[133]Darrouzes, J., *Georges et Demetrios Tornikès, Lettres et discours*. Paris 1970, Introduction, 25-43; G.Schmalzbauer, "Die Tornikioi in der Palaiologenzeit", *JÖB* 18(1969) (hereafter Schmalzbauer, "Tornikioi"), 117 ff.

tax-farming. As will be seen more analytically in the chapter on the aristocrats' economic basis, this kind of activity in the late Byzantine period is virtually hidden behind the exercise of public functions of a fiscal character. Indeed, the career of these people revolves around the posts of the fiscal administration: *energon* of a *katepanikion*, *apographeus*, *doux*. Naturally enough, this course culminates with those offices of the hierarchy whose function is the supervising of public finances. This function is clearly attested for the offices of the *domestikoi* of the themes, not only by the testimony of Pseudo-Kodinos[134], but also by what we know about the individuals occupying them[135]. This category of people however, are not only restricted to these two low offices, but also reach higher administrative offices: Alexios Apokaukos becomes *parakoimomenos*, Constantine Makrenos becomes *logothetes ton agelon*. Several occupants of other offices seem to have held functions pertaining to the perception of taxes. These include the *megas dioiketes* John Balsamon[136], probably the *orphanotrophos* and then *protasecretis* Leo Bardales[137], the *orphanotrophos* Constantine Edessenos[138], a third *orphanotrophos*, Tryphon Kedrenos[139], and even a fourth, Manuel Chageres[140], the *protokynegos*, then *M.Chartoularios*, then *M.Stratopedarches* John

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[134]Ps.Kodinos, 188

[135]For the fiscal charges of M.Atzymes, see Philes 251-2; Gabras Ep.,232. For Alexios Apokaukos, Gabras Ep., 323. This also allows us to correct the erroneous information of Gregoras I, 301, complemented by Kantak.II, 89, according to which Apokaukos treacherously acquired the office of his business partner, George Strategos, that is, became Domestic of the Western themes. The fallacy of the statement is also indicated by the fact that Strategos appears in the sources as occupying his office until 1330! For Saponopoulos, see M.Gedeon, "Μανουὴλ τοῦ Φιλῆ ἱστορικὰ ποιήματα", *Ekklesiastike aletheia* 3(1882-83), 248-249:"καὶ συλλέγειν ὥριστο δυσμόθεν φόρους". For Zomes acting as an *apographeus*, see Theocharides, *Diatheke*, 13. For Strategos, apart from the above references in Gregoras and Kantakouzenos, see also Lavra II,**104** 164, 171; **106**, 173; **ap.VIII**, 306; Guillou, *Ménecée* **5**, 47; **7**, 51; **16**, 69; **22**, 83. For Const. Makrenos, see Chil.**46**,116; **123**, 258; **130**, 273; Esphig.**19**,133; Xénoph.,70, 81; Doch. **18**,143; **19**, 148; **23**, 170; **41**, 234; Theocharides, *Diatheke*, 36; Guillou, *Ménecée* **27**, 96; **29**, 99.

[136]Doch. **29**,193

[137]He is probably identical with the fiscal official in Pach.II, 618. Leo's brother was an *apographeus* but was already dead at that time and, in plus, we know that Leo had a long-standing quarrel with some local governor in Asia Minor, who may be Pachymeres' Kassianos, but more likely was John Tarchaneiotes, as discussed in ch.V. Among the duties of Leo Bardales (as *protasecretis*?) was the examination of abuses commited by tax-collectors. (Choumnos Ep.,88; Planoudes ep.,10, 36, 52).

[138]Guillou, *Ménécée* **36**, 119; C.Asdracha, *La région des Rhodopes aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, Athens 1976, 180, 192

[139]Gabras Ep., 138; Iviron III **74**, 194, 209; Philes/Martini, 49 calls him a "ταμίας τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων".

[140]Doch. **23**, 169ff; **28**, 191; Lavra III, 41; Zogr. **XLIV**, 102, 104

Batatzes[141], the *hetaireiarches* John Panaretos[142], the *domestikos ton scholon* John Tarchaneiotes[143].

The limits separating the three categories mentioned above were not rigid and fixed. Those described as "entrepreneurs" were probably educated to a certain level. They were certainly literate enough to assume functions that required keeping records and issuing documents. I presume that most of the documents bearing their signature were composed by themselves and not by some subordinate clerk, in which case we see that they were at ease with the archaïzing language of the administration; after all, they still were public functionaries and a good education was the absolute prerequisite for such employment. But some among them could also be considered intellectuals, not only because of their circle of correspondents, but on the strength of their own activities as well, like Michael Atzymes, *domestikos* of the Eastern themes, later quaestor, who was engaged in the critical edition of texts[144]. On the other hand, in spite of the snobbery manifested by certain sources, officials of the military hierarchy would not disdain to associate themselves with activities connected to the exploitation of the fisc. Thus, when the Grand *Tzaousios* Alexios Tzamplakon was *kephale* (governor) of Serrhai, he also assumed the *demosiake enoche kai douleia*, the local administration of public fiscal rights, in an unclear combination with the collegium of the Domestic John Tarchaneiotes and Theodore Palaiologos[145]. In some cases officials of the administration or the fisc would assume some sort of military command. To the already mentioned extraordinary cases of George Akropolites, Alexios Apokaukos or John Batatzes, we may add that of the treasurer (*prokathemenos tou vestiariou*) Alexios Alyates who led a flottilla in 1275 against some Genoese pirate/merchants[146]. The future *mesazon*, chief minister, Theodore Mouzalon used to be a soldier until Michael VIII decided to sponsor his

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141Greg.II, 741, confirmed by several documents: Zogr. **XXIX**, 71; Guillou, *Ménécée* **36**, 119
142Guillou, *Ménécée* **6**, 49; Chil.**22**, 50
143Guillou, *Ménécée* **17**, 71; **19**, 76
144Gabras Ep.,72
145Guillou, *Ménécée* **19**, 76
146Pachym.I.ii, 539

education[147]. Some people might even combine in their person the qualities of soldier, intellectual and fiscal administrator, as did John Doukas Zarides, *Megas Adnoumiastes*[148]. Notwithstanding this fluidity, the pattern of office holding is one of the most secure indications regarding the composition and internal divisions of the late Byzantine aristocracy. The latter did not completely coincide with the office holders, naturally. The people of high birth who held court positions represent a fraction of the "high" aristocracy. Many people of illustrious birth, relatives of the emperors, never acquired -and probably never sought- any court office. For example, of the five sons of John Asan -the former Bulgarian Tsar and son-in law of Michael VIII- only Isaac is known to have held a court office[149], although all the brothers were very active in the social and political life of the empire and held posts in the provincial administration. A possible reason could be the disdain they felt for all but the highest offices[150]. For the middle strata of society, however, the court hierarchy was the key to entering the aristocracy. Notwithstanding a well attested tendency for perpetuating patterns of office-holding within families, through promotion of sons or lateral relatives, a courtly career always remained rather open ground for individuals of talent and connections. One might even observe that this mobility increased with time, under the impact of the internal disturbances during the first half of the fourteenth century. Newcomers to the group of office holders had the possibility of making their way up through all three channels, namely the army, distinction in intellectual circles and activities connected with the fisc. On the other hand, individuals born and raised within the high aristocracy seem to have been exclusively

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[147]Ibid.,625:"ἐκ στρατιωτικῆς μοίρας ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοῖς μαθήμασιν ἐνδοὺς ἐνσχολάσαι."
[148]He was commander of the garrison in Melnik, ca. 1307-1309 (Lakap.-Zar. Ep., 140). He also was a student and correspondent of Maximos Planoudes; a manuscript survives in his own hand -see references in PLP6462. The same combination of soldier and intellectual characterized his brother, Andronikos (see S.Kourouses, *Τὸ ἐπιστολάριον Γεωργίου Λακαπηνοῦ-Ἀνδρονίκου Ζαρίδου καὶ ὁ ἰατρὸς-ἀκτουάριος Ἰωάννης Ζαχαρίας*, Athens 1982 ,77ff), who did not, as far as we know, hold any court office.
[149]He was *Megas Doux* until 1341, then *Panhypersebastos*.
[150]Such an example is Andronikos Asan, who, according to Gregoras, considered homself worthy only of the highest offices ("σεβαστοκρατορικῶν καὶ μειζόνων") on account of his experience as a general and his high birth (Greg.I, 363; an alternative explanation of this passage is given in ch. V, in the context of the discussion of the civil war of 1321-22). Another such expression of snobbery comes from a more unexpected source. Nikephoros Choumnos, who had started quite low himself, describes the office of Grand Chartulary, held by his ancestor, Theodore Choumnos, under Isaac II, as low and unimportant (Choumnos Ep., 189).

oriented towards a military career, with the occasional exception of sons of high-ranking administrators who chose to follow a career track smoothened for them by their family connections and oriented themselves towards the administrative offices.

The returns from holding a public office are not very clear. During the middle Byzantine period, court officials received an annual pension, the *roga*, from the emperor. Under the Komnenoi this payment was discontinued and replaced by grants of the fiscal income of certain areas, or other sources of income that would normally belong to the state. During the period under study, there is no mention in the sources of direct payments to court officials. It is very possible that the emperor provided for their means of subsistence through grants of various wealth-producing sources. Unfortunately we cannot know whether the income sources granted to an official corresponded to standard amounts, fixed according to the particular office, or whether the amounts depended entirely on the discretion of the emperor. There are several instances in the sources where such grants were associated with the appointment or promotion of individuals to court office. Apart from material rewards, holding a court office entailed several honorific privileges, like precedence in court ceremonies, although it seems that the position of the emperor's close relatives did not depend on their holding any particular office[151].

Although the councils summoned by the emperors on various occasions do not seem to have had a strictly defined composition and often included ecclesiastics and Church oficials, it is possible that office-holding was a factor connected with participation in them. An obscure problem with protocol arose in 1300, when Manuel Angelos -who had been *logariastes tes aules* under John III- was extraordinarily summoned to appear in Andronikos II's council. The fact that he had once held a court office entitled him to a seat in the council, but for some unclear reason this was unavailable. Perhaps the seats of the officials were strictly numbered and pre-assigned. As a result, the old man had to wait outside the room,

[151]Still, the wife of the Porphyrogennetos Constantine, brother of Andronikos II, had reasons to complain that, because her husband was not accorded any dignity, she was treated as an "ἰδιώτης" when it came to questions of ceremonial precedence: Pach. II, 155.

while Pachymeres was rushing back and forth transmitting the emperor's questions and Manuel's answers[152]. This strange story is important because it clearly implies a connection between office holding and participation to the emperor's council. An episode mentioned by Kantakouzenos indicates that even the order of speaking in such a council could depend on office precedence[153]. If this hypothesis is true, then offices acquire an even greater importance, which was less marked perhaps under a strong imperial authority, when the emperor could arbitrarily select his councellors, but which could be crucial during the absence or minority of an emperor, when the imperial council's role was emphasized. Any conclusions, however, based on the composition of the imperial council are better avoided, since this was not an institutionalized body and its composition, whatever its nucleus, could vary according to the occasion. Neither should the court in any way be seen as a "body" which conditioned the social status of its members. But even in late Byzantium there was a vivid memory of another body, whose institutionalized existence was as old as the Roman state itself and which had been for centuries the institutional expression of the empire's aristocracy. The reference is of course to the Roman Senate and raises the question of the existence of a late Byzantine senatorial class.

Senate and Senators

The Senate of Constantinople was created by Constantine I as a counterpart to that of the old Rome. Soon, however, it evolved from a city institution to an imperial one, as members of the *élites* from all over the Eastern empire sought and acquired membership in it[154]. For several centuries membership to the senatorial class was connected to the system of offices and titles, making that group almost a mirror of the empire's aristocracy. The

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152Pach.II, 296-297

153Kantak.II, 20-21, where the *epi tes trapezes* George Choumnos speaks before the Grand Domestic (Kantakouzenos), provoking his wrath. It is not clear in what consisted the breach of protocol on the part of the former, but very likely it lay in not respecting the order of precedence.

154Dagron, G., *Naissance d' une capitale:Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 a 451.* Paris 1974, chs.IV and V, pp.119-190

transformations of the eleventh century, however, led to the devaluation of the senatorial quality as well, since the ranks of the Senate were opened to the Constantinopolitan middle classes by emperors seeking their support. Although Alexios Komnenos tried to impose stricter criteria for admission into the Senate, under the new regime that he inaugurated, the high aristocracy, consisting essentially of the emperor's relatives, was for the first time distinguished from the senatorial order and placed above it[155]. From that point, the exact composition and role of the Senate becomes rather a matter of speculation. The term itself is always present in the sources, but in ways that raise several doubts concerning the accuracy and specificity of its use. Especially for the period after 1204, several doubts have been expressed about the actual survival of the Senate as either an assembly or a class. The last work specifically dedicated to the question[156], concluded that the Senate existed in late Byzantium under both its roles, as an assembly and as a class, although the political role of the assembly was only significant in the events of 1259-61 and never afterwards. This position has either been tacitly accepted or passed over in silence by subsequent scholarship to the point that one may consider the existence of a Senate and senators in late Byzantium as accepted by the present state of research. The existence of an institutionalized group at the highest level of society is obviously an extremely important factor for any study of the aristocracy. The evidence, however, shows that such an institutionalized body did not exist in late Byzantium and that the Senate and senators survived in the archaizing vocabulary of the Byzantines as notions, but had a very vague correspondence to reality.

The first striking observation is the complete absence of any reference to the Senate and the senators from all contemporary sources dealing with either the empire of Nicaea or the Western Greek Despotate. The archbishop of Bulgaria Demetrios Chomatianos, in a letter to the exiled patriarch of Constantinople, where he denied the claim of the Nicene state to be the only successor of the empire, emphasized the point that, after the capture of

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155Kazhdan, *Social'nyj sostav*, 77-79

156Raybaud, *Le gouvernement*, 112-139

Constantinople in 1204, the members of the Senate, as well as those of the patriarchal Synod, were equally dispersed to the East and to the West, and that those senators and prelates who fled to the West granted legitimacy to the authority of Chomatianos's candidate for the imperial title, Theodore Angelos Doukas[157]. It is clear that Chomatianos refers only to individual former members of the Constantinopolitan Senate and that until the time he writes (1225-1230) there was no constituted body that he recognized as successor to the Senate. The Senate reappears in the sources only under the reign of Andronikos II[158]! Raybaud was conscious of this gap, but his attempt to cover it by evoking the testimony of Pseudo-Sphrantzes fails to carry conviction[159].

Most of the information about the late Byzantine Senate comes from the three historians of the fourteenth century. They all refer repeatedly to it, either sparingly, like Pachymeres, or profusely, like Kantakouzenos. In most cases the reference is to the senators as a group (οἱ συγκλητικοί, οἱ τῆς Συγκλήτου, οἱ τῆς Γερουσίας), who appear in a ceremonial or other context as representing a specific social class. For the sake of precision the use of the term will be discussed separately for each author.

The evidence of Pachymeres

Pachymeres usually avoids the above terms. For one, he is not as obsessed as the subsequent authors with indicating social divisions. When he wants to refer to the ruling class he uses terms like "magnates -μεγιστᾶνες" or "men of position -ἐν τέλει". When he does refer to the "Senate", he uses both Greek terms, Σύγκλητος and Γερουσία. The third traditional term, βουλή, will not be examined here, since in Pachymeres it has only the sense

157 Chom. 488, 490

158 Pachymeres, writing after 1305, is the first narrative source to mention the Senate. Before that, senators appear in a document of 1286 from the chartulary of Lembos (MM IV, 276). Raybaud cites two cases from the Nicene period: one comes from Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, where the expression "σύγκλητος τῶν ἐλλογίμων" means simply a council, a gathering, and not the Senate; the other is the address "ὦ σεμνὴ γερουσία" which opens Akropolites' monody on the death of John III (Akrop.II, 14). The archaism of the genre nullifies any historical significance of the use of the term.

159 The fifteenth-century historian Sphrantzes would have been an unreliable source anyway. Raybaud, of course, was not in a position to know that the "Chronicon maius" is largely the work of a sixteenth-century metropolitan and approaches historical fiction.

of "council", of any sort. Σύγκλητος is used to distinguish a group of people who are present in several official occasions. The fact that this group never appears to deliberate on its own, is a good indication that *synkletos* does not have the meaning of a senatorial assembly. The Σύγκλητος seems to be complemented by either the clergy or the common citizens (πολιτεία) in various general gatherings, but it is not clear whether it should be taken as a synonym for the aristocracy, since on some of these occasions the "magnates" and the "dignitaries" are represented alongside with it. It is interesting that the Σύγκλητος appears almost exclusively on gatherings concerning religious or ecclesiastical affairs, such as the trial of the patriarchs Arsenios and John Bekkos, the emperor's official visit to the patriarch Germanos, the lifting of the ban against Michael VIII, or the gathering in front of which the accusers of the patriarch Gregory of Cyprus aknowledged his orthodoxy. The ceremonial procession towards the liberated capital in 1261 can be considered a religious occasion, like the official imperial visit to the shrine of St. Theodosia following a miracle. The only other occasion where the Σύγκλητος is present, is the investiture of the Catalan Berenguer d' Entenca with the office of Grand Duke[160].

The traditional meaning of the word Γερουσία is identical to that of Σύγκλητος. Pachymeres, however, seems to employ the two terms with some discrimination. The first occurence of Γερουσία is in the context of a political gathering: after the death of Theodore II, the regent George Mouzalon convoked a council of the Γερουσία, the imperial family, the lords (ἄρχοντες) and the army leadership[161]. We see that whereas Σύγκλητος distinguished the lay grandees from the commoners and the clergy, Γερουσία denotes a group within the lay aristocracy. To complicate things further, the two terms are later used side by side, in the description of Michael VIII's procession towards the newly reconquered Constantinople, with the participation of "all of the *Gerousia* and the *Syncletos*"[162]. Here Pachymeres is

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160 The refernces are respectively Pach.I.ii, 339, 389, 397ff; II, 90, 127; I.i, 217; II, 455, 498

161 Pach.I.i, 65

162 Pach.I.i, 217: "συνάμα τῇ γερουσίᾳ πάσῃ καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ". Raybaud recognized the problem presented by this passage and suggested that Gerousia was the Senate of Nicaea, Syncletos was the Senate of Constantinople that succeeded to the former and this passage indicated the transition from thn one to the other!! (Raybaud, *Le Gouvernement* 119)

either stating the same thing twice, a practice not uncommon in Byzantine literature of the time, or he is considering the *Gerousia* to be a subtotal of the *Synkletos*. The latter case is probably more in accordance with that author's practice. In two other cases Γερουσία has a more precise meaning: upon Michael VIII's accession in 1259, "those of the *Gerousia* were honoured with befitting offices. Different offices were either given or promised to different people"[163]. This passage cannot refer to either the members of an assembly or of a class, since it is not likely that all of them were either invested with offices or given promises to that end. I think that Pachymeres here is defining by *Gerousia* the sum of the office-holders, although we must allow for his using the term in an anticipatory way. This interpretation is supported by a second passage, describing the investiture of Berenguer d' Entenca: "The feast had arrived and he [Berenguer], had to be honoured as well with an office and isignia, after offering oaths of submission, since he had already been made one of the *Gerousia*. So this took place, and immediately he was proclamed Grand Duke in the presence of the whole *Synkletos* and the citizens, and assumed the staff as a symbol of his dignity. For this also was an innovation of the emperor, to honour the first of the *Gerousia* upon the assumption of their offices with gold and silver staffs"[164]. The only way to interpret this passage is by accepting that for Pachymeres, Γερουσία consists of the holders of court offices. Again, we stumble upon the author's anticipatory way of expression, but here there can be no doubt. Berenguer had just arrived in Byzantium and could not have been a member of the *Gerousia* prior to the investiture ceremony described. As for the staffs of the first among the *Gerousia*, the description of Pseudo-Kodinos indeed confirms that the highest ranking officials bore

[163]Pach.I.i,137:"Οἱ μὲν τῆς γερουσίας προσήκουσιν ὀφφικίοις ἐνεσεμνύνοντο. Καὶ ἄλλοις μὲν ἄλλα τὰ μὲν ἐδίδοντο, τὰ δ' ἐν ὑποσχέσεσιν ἦσαν." In the following paragraph this group is contrasted to the army and to the "many": "Τὸ δὲ στρατιωτικόν τε καὶ τὴν πληθύν, τοὺς μὲν καθημεριναῖς φιλοτιμίαις ὤφελλε (...), τοὺς δ ἐθεράπευεν ....".

[164]Ibid.II, 498:"Ἐπεὶ ἡ ἑορτὴ ἐφεστήκει, ἔδει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἕνα ἤδη φανέντα τῆς γερουσίας ὀφφικίῳ καὶ παρασήμοις τιμᾶσθαι, ὅρκους τῆς ὑποταγῆς παρασχόντα, γίνεται τοῦτο, καὶ μέγας μὲν παρευθὺς κλεΐζεται δοὺξ συγκλήτου πάσης καὶ πολιτείας παριστaμένης, καὶ τὴν βακτηρίαν τὸ τῆς ἀξίας λαμβάνει σύμβολον (καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ τῷ βασιλεῖ κεκαινούργητο, ἀργυροχρύσοις βακτηρίαις τοὺς τῆς γερουσίας πρωτίστους ἀξιωμάτων ἐπιβαίνοντας σεμνύνεσθαι)".

staffs of gold and silver[165]. In the above passage we see again the author's distinction between Γερουσία and Σύγκλητος: *Gerousia* is the body in which Berenguer is admitted; *Synkletos* is a vague group of people who assist in the ceremony. Of course it is not absolutely necessary to consider the two as separate: Pachymeres may simply be avoiding repetitiveness by using two diferrent expressions for the same thing. Against this interpretation, however, comes the observation that in all other cases as well we see *Gerousia* employed to denote a more restricted and specified group than *Synkletos.* In general, it seems fair to conclude that for Pachymeres the Γερουσία consists of the holders of courtly offices, whereas Σύγκλητος denotes a larger group of grandees, although it is uncertain what the limits of that group were. There is no indication of the existence of a senatorial assembly. The source does not disprove the existence of a senatorial class, although vagueness is an argument against it. Finally, there are two different instances where Pachymeres mentions Senators, ἄρχοντες Συγκλητικοί. Both occur in the context of justice administration and, as I will argue when I will discuss the evidence of the documentary sources, the author may well be using a contemporary technical term. The first instance is the trial of John Bekkos before his accession to the patriarchate, where the synod was complemented by a group of Senators representing the emperor. Among them were the Grand Logothete and the Logothete of the *Oikeiaka*[166]. The second instance concerns Andronikos II's plan for the creation of a special supreme court of justice, consisting of clergymen and *Synkletikoi.* The latter would be chosen for their distinction in wisdom and legal knowledge[167]. It will be seen later that the field of justice administration was the only one in which late Byzantium preserved for a while a sense of institutional distinction based on the old Senatorial quality.

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[165]Down to the office of Grand Stratopedarch: Verpeaux, *Ps.Kodinos*, 151-154. The rest of the officials either do not hold any *dikanikion* at all, or they hold one that is made from combinations of materials but not exclusively of gold and silver like the highest-ranking officials.

[166]Pach.I.ii, 483

[167]Ibid.II, 236-7. The emperor's attempt at reform anticipated by 33 years that of his grandson. According to Pachymeres it was short lived.

The evidence of Gregoras

Nikephoros Gregoras finished his history more than half a century after Pachymeres and his terminology can be reasonably assumed to reflect a changed institutional reality. Gregoras uses almost exclusively the term Σύγκλητος for "Senate", with Γερουσία appearing only for the sake of variation between the two meanings of the word[168]. In the *Historia Rhomaike*, the Senate denotes mainly two different things: the imperial council and a social group. All references to the Senate as the imperial council are situated in the context of the regency in Constantinople during the civil war of 1341-1347. No source reveals to us the exact composition of the emperor's council. As we saw when discussing offices, it may be that, in principle, all office holders, or at least all but the lowest ranking, were *ex officio* members of that council. But it is reasonable to deduce from the whole of our information that the composition of any particular session depended entirely upon the emperor's will and the needs of the moment. During the minority of John V, however, no one among the regency possessed enough authority to assume the emperor's prerogatives regarding the convocation and composition of the council, which seems to have acquired a more stable, institutional character, prompting Gregoras, in his archaism, to identify it with the old Roman Senate. The parallel is most evident in Greg.II, 606, where the Grand Duke Alexios Apokaukos is compared to Augustus, for his ability to assume real supreme power, while satisfying the βουλὴ with the illusion of it. In the same context, Apokaukos was courting the alliance of John Rhaoul Gabalas, whose opinion carried great weight with those who constituted the imperial Senate:"Τὴν βασίλειον σύγκλητον καὶ βουλήν"[169]. Elsewhere, the Senate, together with the Patriarch, receives the historian's criticism for bowing to the will of the unworthy empress-mother[170].

168Greg.II, 761: "καὶ συγκλήτῳ πάσῃ καὶ γερουσίᾳ τοσαύτῃ", meaning essentially "the whole council and so many grandees". Gregoras normally uses "Synkletos" for both notions, council and aristocracy, but here the two groups appear together, therefore he has to make a distinction.
169Ibid.II, 696
170Ibid.II, 761

But most commonly Gregoras describes as "Senators" a group within society, although one of uncertain delimitation. Thus, according to him the inhabitants of Constantinople are divided into the people (*demos*), the senators and *oikeioi*, and the blood relatives of the emperor[171]. If this is here the author's own arbitrary division,on other instances in the narrative it appears that it is adopted by the emperors themselves. Andronikos II sent an embassy to his rebel grandson consisting of two senators, two bishops, two archons of the Church and two select members of the *demos*[172]. On another occasion the younger Andronikos examined a conspiracy against his life in front of the Senate, the bishops with the patriarch and the most important of the *demos*[173]. In these latter cases the Senate is probably identical to the social group that the author considers to be the aristocracy. This must include the two groups that Gregoras distinguishes in the former instance, that is the imperial *oikeioi* and relatives. Elsewhere the identification of Senate and "nobility" is more explicit, as when John VI sends men "of the Senate and nobility" to visit Gregoras in his cell[174]. As an individual attribute, it is not clear whether "senator" means a noble or the holder of an office, since John Philes, to whom it is applied, was both[175]. The fluidity of Gregoras' use of the term is demonstrated in the passage describing the proclamation of the emperor Matthew Kantakouzenos, which occurs through "the *stratiotai* and the other kinds of senators"[176]. Surely none of the previous uses of the term would allow for an interpretation broad enough to allow for the inclusion of the knights in it.

Overall, it seems that Gregoras does not describe something specific by his use of the term "Senate". Sometimes he describes by it the imperial council, following his own archaism rather than an established practice. But most commonly he uses it to denote the highest

[171]Ibid.I, 395:"ὅσοι τοῦ δήμου, ὅσοι τῶν συγκλητικῶν καὶ οἰκειακῶν, ὅσοι τῶν μάλα καθ' αἷμα τῷ γηραιῷ βασιλεῖ προσηκόντων"
[172]Ibid.I, 398
[173]Ibid.I, 531
[174]Ibid.II, 1038:"ἄνδρες τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ εὐγενῶν"
[175]Ibid.I, 263
[176]Ibid.III, 188:"τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλως ἐχόντων συγκλητικῶν". Kantakouzenos, in his description of the same scene distnguishes clearly between the two groups (Kant.III, 260)

stratum of lay society, but with a precision varying according to the occasion. In this, Gregoras is seconded by the third major historian of the century, John Kantakouzenos.

The evidence of Kantakouzenos

Kantakouzenos uses the terms "senate" and "senators"- Σύγκλητος, Συγκλητικοί- abundantly, covering almost all of the meanings that we saw already. In one case he follows Pachymeres and Gregoras in connecting the acquisition of the senatorial quality with the assumption of a dignity and position of power (ἀξίωμα and ἀρχή)[177]. But most commonly the Senate is for Kantakouzenos a social group, one that is often denoted by the alternative terms "οἱ ἐν τέλει" or "οἱ εὐγενεῖς", men of position or nobles[178]. He considers himself to have belonged to that group before his accession, as is apparent from the way the Grand Domestic (Kantakouzenos himself) speaks to the two emperors, Andronikos II and III, in 1322: "If you agree, we senators will hold a council and decide about the war issue"[179]. The ones who participate in that council, however, are the "ἐπιφανεῖς"-the eminent ones, both those who were in Constantinople in the court of Andronikos the elder and those who had just arrived with the younger emperor. In several cases Kantakouzenos refers to the senators who are in the campaigning army, distinguishing them from the *stratiotai*. For example, the letters sent by Andronikos III to his grandfather were countersigned by the senators (τῆς συγκλήτου) and the army commanders. The same emperor, after his conquest of Macedonia in 1328 "rewarded those senators who were with him with honours and other benefactions" whereas the soldiers were rewarded with an increase of their pay, if they were mercenaries, or of their assigned annual income, if they were pronoia-holders[180]. There are certain instances where the senators are presented as a subgroup within the nobility: in a fictional deathbed scene set in 1329, Andronikos III, acting like Alexander the Great, convoked

177Talking about Andronikos III's promises to Benedetto Zaccaria in Kant.I, 387
178Kant.I, 42, 182, 551; III, 256-7, 295, are instances where the equivalence of the terms is made apparent.
179Kant.I, 182
180Kant.I, 128, 287

successively "the first of the Senate"," the others who were distinguished by their nobility" and finally the rest of the Rhomaioi[181]. But when Andronikos was really dead in 1341, the mourning visitors of the palace were simply divided into senators and soldiers[182]. The former order occurs again in a more realistic context, the description of an *exisosis*, that is, a correction/updating of the lists of imperial grants of income sources. According to Kantakouzenos, all the senators and "those otherwise distinguished for nobility" were first summoned by the *de facto* regent (Kantakouzenos himself), then the *stratiotai* followed[183]. Kantakouzenos examined each case and then determined what changes ought to be made, with the assistance of his collaborator, the *exisotes* Patrikiotes. From the description it is obvious that what Kantakouzenos is describing, whether it really occured or not, was not a regular *exisosis*, that is, a restoration of the original amount of a grant, following a reassessment of the resources through a locally conducted census (*apographe*)[184]. Kantakouzenos' summoning of the recipients of grants did not have the character of an official ceremony with pre-determined order of precedence, but reflected his own conceptual hierarchical order.

In general, Kantakouzenos seems to be using the terms "Senate" and "senators" without much discrimination, as one more means of distinguishing a particular class in society. That class did not exist as an institutionally distinct group, but as the author's conceptual construction: it consists of persons of noble lineage and high personal education and merit, whose traditional task was the administration of the empire and whose most distinguished representative was the author himself. He does not, however, avoid other, more conventional uses of the term *Synkletos*, for example in order to denote the court, or the imperial council. Thus, we see Kantakouzenos at the beginning of his revolt surrounded by "senators" who prompt him to action[185], yet the embassy he sends to the capital is received

[181]Ibid.I, 392
[182]Ibid.II, 14
[183]Ibid.II, 63
[184]See M.Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army*, Philadephpeia 1992 (hereafter Bartusis, *Late Byzantine Army*), 177-178, who also observes the atypical nature of the reassessment
[185]Ibid.II, 144, 154, 180

by "the patriarch and the rest of the senators"[186]. Soon afterwards, John V was crowned "by the common decision of the empress and the Senate", whereas during the ceremony "all the senators (*synkletikoi*), except for a few, received dignities", according to the judgement of the empress, the patriarch and "the Senate" (*Boule*)[187]!

A particularity of Kantakouzenos is worth noticing: he is the only author to mention the existence of "senators" settled in the provincial cities of the empire. For example, when Thessalonica passes over to the side of the young Andronikos in 1322, it sends a delegation composed, among others, by "many senators and soldiers"[188]. Elsewhere there is mention of the "senators dwelling in the Thracian cities"[189]. Talking of Berroia, Kantakouzenos mentions among the inhabitants of the city "*stratiotai* and not a few senators"[190]. Such passages, combined with scarce documentary evidence gave rise to the persisting historiographical fiction of the late Byzantine provincial "Senates"[191]. Such an interpretation, however, is not necessary once we accept that "Senate" in Kantakouzenos denotes mainly a social class. Indeed, as will be seen in the chapter on the geographical distribution of the aristocracy, those provincial "senators" are members of the court aristocracy of the empire and their relatives, who settle in the provincial cities either as governors or in order to be close to the pieces of property that have been granted to them. They are to be distinguished,

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186 Ibid.II, 142

187 Ibid II, 218: "ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ δὲ καὶ τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου πλὴν ὀλίγων ἀξιωμάτων πάντες ἔτυχον, ὡς ἂν ἕκαστος παρὰ βασιλίδος καὶ πατριάρχου καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἄξιος ἐκρίθη." The genitive τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου should be taken as referring to πάντες rather than to τῶν ἀξιωμάτων, since the genitive is rather commonly used to express social or political groups (οἱ τῶν εὐγενῶν, οἱ τοῦ δήμου, οἱ τῶν μέσων, etc.). The alternative interpretation ("All but a few obtained the dignities of the Senate") is not impossible, but that indiscriminate "all but a few" is hard to accept, even in the sense that the regency was giving around titles and dignities. The passage goes on to present a group of aristocrats who received promotions.

188 Ibid.I, 149:"τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς πολλοί."

189 Ibid.II, 69

190 Most of them were chased by the Serbs; ibid.III, 120:"...διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἔχειν, οὐ δημώδη μόνον ὄχλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιώτας καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν συγκλητικῶν, ὧν τοὺς πλείους μὲν ἢ πάντας ὁ κράλης ἐξήλασε κατασχών.'

191 Examples are O.Tafrali, *Thessalonique au XIVe siècle*, Paris 1913, 71ff; Z.Pljakov, "Le statut de la ville byzantine balkanique aux XIIIe-XIVe siècles", *Études balkaniques* 3(1985), 91ff; G.Ostrogorsky, "Les juges généraux de Serrès", *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet II*, Poitiers 1966, 1318 who thinks of the "senate" of Serrai as a new institution of the second half of the fourteenth century. Lj.Maksimović, *The Byzantine Provincial Administration under the Palaiologoi*, Amsterdam 1988 (hereafter Maksimović, *Provincial Administration*) denies that there was a real Senate in Serrai (pp.150-151) or any other provincial city, but accepts it for Thessalonica (pp.254-256).

and Kantakouzenos is for once careful to do so, from the "δυνατοί", the locally rooted gentry whose status is lower than that of the former group.

In many of the cases presented, the Senators as a group are contrasted to the *stratiotai*. Unlike Gregoras, Kantakouzenos is consistent in making this distinction. The conceptual division is not vertical, separating the "soldiers", those involved in military activities, from a "civilian" group described as "the Senators", but horizontal. The Senators are the aristocratic group that are above the simple heavily armed mounted fighters, the *stratiotai*, although they share a common attribute that distinguishes them from the rest of society: they are both recipients of state grants. This nature of the division is apparent from passages presenting the *Synkletikoi* in campaign along with the *stratiotai*. For example, after Theodore Synadenos' victory at Melas in 1328, Andronikos III rewarded the Senators that were with him with "honours and other benefactions" and at the same time he increased the salary and the grants of the *stratiotai*[192]. On the other hand, it does not seem that Kantakouzenos is limiting the "Senators"' group to aristocrats of military occupation: for example the six Senators sent by Andronikos II to his grandson in 1327 include the intellectual Theodore Xanthopoulos[193].

The main conclusion from this examination is that none of the three major historians allows us to suppose the existence of the Senate as an assembly in late Byzantium. The most precise use of the terms "Senate" and "senators" possibly denotes the officials of the court. But the authors also use the term in order to refer to a larger group, something that they understand as the "senatorial class". Do we have a continuation of the Senate as a class in this period? This would presuppose that the group of "senators" is clearly delineated, consisting of individuals, bearers of a certain distinguishing dignity (as was, for example, that of *protospatharios* in the 11th century) and those above them hierarchically. There is no

[192]Kantak.I, 287:"τοὺς συνόντας αὐτῷ τῶν συγκλητικῶν τιμαῖς τε καὶ ἄλλαις εὐεργεσίαις, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς μὲν ἐπιδόσει τῆς μισθοφορᾶς, τῶν ἐτησίων δὲ προσόδων τοὺς λοιποὺς μᾶλλον ἐπέῤῥωσε..."
[193]Kantak.I, 226

indication of such a distinction; on the contrary, the inconsistency and variety with which the term is used by the fourteenth century authors would be an argument against such an institutionalized distinction.

The historians are not alone in employing those expressions in such a way. The terms occasionally occur in other literary sources of the period, although very scarcely. In one case the patriarch Athanasios I bewails in a letter the moral corruption of the "ἱερὰ σύγκλητος" which he compares to the princes of Isaiah's Jerusalem[194]. From the context and purpose of the letter it may be inferred that he refers to those grandees who held positions of power and not just to a social class in general. Neither does he mean by *hiera synkletos* the Synod, as one could reasonably suspect. More than half a century later, another patriarch, Philotheos, talking about the time of Andronikos II identifies the Senate with the "ἐν τέλει", those in power, an expression that most likely denotes the holders of offices[195]. Even an official church document, such as the *tomos* issued by the synod after Kantakouzenos' victory in 1347 groups his unjust accusers of six years before under the term :"(τινὲς τῶν) τῆς συγκλήτου"[196]. "Senate" and "senators" repeatedly appear in orations, but the archaism and rhetoric of the genre deprive those references of precision. A good illustration of this is a phrase from a monody on the death of Nikephoros Choumnos, where the same thing is expressed in as many ways as possible: "the emperor's blood relatives, the magnates, those of the Senate (Synkletos), those of the Senate (Boule), the Church, the Synod, the republic, the Senate (Gerousia), in all these groups you held the first place..."[197]. In spite of the lack of accuracy, the fact remains that after a long period of silence from 1204 to the reign of Michael VIII, the words describing the Senate become again common in the vocabulary of Byzantine authors. Is this the result of an archaistic literary vogue (which indeed gained momentum

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[194] Athanasius Ep., p.44.

[195] In his encomium of Gregory Palamas, talking about the saint's father, Constantine: Tsames/Philotheos, p.430

[196] Patr.Reg. II **147**, 356

[197] Theodore Hyrtakenos in Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca* I, 290:"τοὺς καθ' αἷμα προσήκοντας βασιλεῖ, τοὺς μεγιστᾶνας, τοὺς τῆς συγκλήτου, τοὺς τῆς βουλῆς, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τὴν σύνοδον, τὴν πολιτείαν, τὴν γερουσίαν, ὧν ἁπάντων ἦσθα τὰ πρῶτα..."

during the reign of Andronikos II), or does it echo an institutional change that occured under the first two Palaiologoi? We cannot exclude the possibility that in the atmosphere of restoration that dominated after the reconquest of Constantinople some initiative was taken to recreate the title and function of senator, perhaps connecting it with an imperial council consisting of office-holders. This cannot be proven and, in any way, it probably affected only the language and not the institutional reality of the empire.

Senate and Senators in late Byzantine documents

Evidence from documentary sources is of course a more secure indication of actual practices and juridical distinctions, depending, as we have seen, on the authority issuing the document. Imperial documents of the period between 1204 and 1354 provide no reference at all to the Senate. On the other hand, there are several references to Senate and Senators in the register of the synodal acts of the Constantinopolitan patriarchate, whose surviving fragments cover a large part of the period under study (beginning in 1315). This source can be considered official in nature and reliable in its terminology, although perhaps lacking the accuracy that characterizes the imperial chancery's use of technical terms. In the register, the Senate appears mostly as a group that complements, together with the emperor, the synodal sessions, when the subject is of great importance[198]. That the same expression is used by different patriarchal secretaries over time, is an indication that the term "Senate" was used more or less officially to denote the group of close relatives and court officials surrounding the emperor, perhaps the same group that formed the imperial council. On the other hand, we may have to do with a stylized expression rather than an accurate description: in all these cases, the patriarchal records mention the presence of the "Senate", as a whole, in the deliberations, something rather unlikely. Interestingly, when Kantakouzenos describes the

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[198]Such as discussing an offer of church union by the Armenian *Katholikos* in 1330-1 (Patr.Reg. I **104**, 590), the condemnation of Barlaam in 1341 (Ibid. II **132**, 214; **145**, 328; **147**, 352), the condemnation of John XIV in 1347 (ibid. II **147**, 364-366, 376), the assumption the title of patriarch of Jerusalem by Lazaros (ibid. II **154**, 416).

same occasions, he talks about the participation of "many officials and senators" or "the most prominent of the senators"[199].

In all of the above cases, the evidence of the sources allows the conclusion that, although the term "Senate" was in use, even perhaps at an official level, the content of the quality of senator was quite vague and did not correspond to a specifically delineated group of individuals. There are, however, certain instances where the term "senator" occurs repeatedly and in a rather consistent way in connection with the administration of justice. This scarce evidence should be examined more closely, because if we have to do with the existence of a "senatorial court", we are immediately led to the question of who had the right to participate or to be judged by it. In other words, we may have to do with senatorial status as an insitutionally recognized, clearly defined personal quality. Our information consists essentially of three judicial cases. The earliest comes from the chartulary of the Lembos monastery, where it is entitled "σεκρετικὴ δικαίωσις"[200]. A court, defined as "the imperial court"(βασιλικὸν δικαστήριον), decided in 1286 on a quarell between Lembos and Michael Komnenos Branas, a great landowner and *oikeios* of the emperor. We are not told who the regular members of the court were, but for this specific case they were complemented by several "senatorial lords"-ἄρχοντες συγκλητικοί. Only three of them are named, Michael Doukas Philanthropenos, *epi tes trapezes*, Rhimpsas, a *sebastos* and *praitor tou demou*, and Theodore Angelos Komnenos, who had no office or title. All three were *oikeioi* of the emperor. The document is called a σεκρετικὸν γράμμα and the original was signed only by the *nomophylax*, a functionary of the judicial administration. Another document from the same group makes clear that we have to do with the court of the *sekreton*, the highest court before the reforms of the fourteenth century. Its standard composition is not known[201]. It is interesting, however, that for a case involving a high aristocrat the court is complemented by

[199]Kant.I, 551 (the 1341 synod), III, 23 (the synod of 1347)
[200]MM IV, 276 ff.
[201]According to Pach.I.i, 131 Michael Palaiologos, while trying to gain consensus for his accession to the throne in 1258, promised to reform this court into an impartial body composed by *asecretis* and headed by the *protasecretis*. It is not known whether he fulfilled his pledge. In our document the *protasecretis* is not mentioned.

"senatorial lords". We know that in the twelfth century, senators (in the traditional Byzantine sense of the term) enjoyed certain judicial privileges, including the right to be judged by the emperor through a special court[202]. Could it be that the extremely conservative Byzantine legal practice recognized to Branas the right to be judged as a senator by a court composed of senators? The document, however,does not hint to any special status of Branas. Furthermore, the case was referred to the *sekreton* at the request of the monks, not Branas.

The second case comes from the patriarchal register, in an entry of 1330[203]. The individuals concerned are of aristocratic or quasi-aristocratic status: John Laskaris (Padyates), son of an *oikeios*, claimed a field that his father had ceded to his elder brother's father-in-law, the *sebastos, oikeios* and Domestic of the Western themes George Strategos. According to the document, the case was first tried in front of the patriarchal synod. Sensing that he was going to lose the case, Laskaris adressed himself to the emperor and demanded that the case be heard by the court of the *sekreton.* He lost, but soon afterwards the emperor accepted a second petition of his and ordered the case to be judged again by the *sekreton*, which consisted -we are told- of the "senatorial lords"[204]. Laskaris lost for a second time and for a while the case rested while he resorted to other means of claiming the property. Then he resorted again to the court, this time that of the Judges General (καθολικοὶ κριταί), that had been created in the meantime and replaced the old *sekreton* court. The Judges General refused to hear the case, stating that it pertained to the jurisdiction of the synodal court, whose final decision is the document that we have. From this case, we learn that the court of the imperial *sekreton* consisted -at least the second time- of "senatorial lords" -ἄρχοντες συγκλητικοί- a recurring expression that is possibly a technical term. It was convoked at the emperor's orders and its decisions were both times confirmed by an imperial *prostagma* (the same process

[202]*Ecloga Basilicorum*, ed.L.Burgmann, Frankfurt 1988, 258, 276. Cf. R.J.Makrides, "The Competent Court", in A.Laiou/D.Simon (edd.), *Law and Society in Byzantium, Ninth-Twelfth Centuries*, Washington 1994, 122. We should probably not understand that senators were judged by the emperor in person but some special imperial court.

[203]Patr.Reg.I **101**, 570-578

[204]Ibid.I, 572: "πάλιν τῷ σεκρέτῳ κεκίνηται ἡ ὑπόθεσις ἐκ βασιλικῆς προσταγῆς, συνελθόντων κατὰ ταὐτὸ τῶν συγκλητικῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ δικασάντων τὴν ὑπόθεσιν."

took place in the Lembos/Branas case, where we are told that the court was convoked by an imperial *horismos*, while its decisions took the form of a *prostagma*[205]). We cannot know who are meant by "senatorial lords", but it should be noted that this technical expression is different both from "Senate" and "senators", although obviously its origins lie in that institution. It is even more difficult to state whether Laskaris evoked his personal status when he requested to be judged by that court. From what the document allows us to infer about him, we can tell that he was of limited financial means, but had access to the emperor. His father was an *oikeios* with a career in imperial administration[206]; his mother bore the illustrious name of Laskaris and may have been a descendant of the distinguished family that gave to the Nicene empire its rulers; his brother had made a successful marriage with the daughter of a well-to-do court official. Still, it would be surprising if judicial practice had degenerated to the point that someone with no office or rank at all could claim the privileges of the old senatorial status just on account of his lineage. We should rather see the involvement of the *sekreton* in his case as an instance of personal imperial favor: when the case is referred to the Judges General who, unlike the old *sekreton*, functioned independently of the emperor, they refused to judge it and assigned it to the jurisdiction of the patriarchal court, where it apparently had belonged in the first place although the reason is not obvious.

The third case, dating from 1337/38, is slightly different since it is an investigation rather than a trial[207]. Certain officials of the church of Thessalonica received reports that accused a fellow-citizen of theirs, Chionios, of apostasy and judaising. After an investigation they confirmed the accusation and referred his case to the imperial government which had the authority to punish him. The emperor ordered the "senatorial lords" (called "the Senate" elsewhere in the document)[208] to further examine him and discover "his teachers and disciples". The interesting thing is that, as it appears from the rest of the document, all this

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[205]MM IV, 273, 275 (the text of the *prostagma*)
[206]PLP 21292: he was governor of Lemnos in 1319
[207]Patr.Reg. II 111, 104-116
[208]Ibid.II, 108, l.14; 112, l.93

probably took place while the emperor and most of the court quartered in Thessalonica during Andronikos III's campaign in Western Greece. During his examination Chionios accused the Church officials of holding heretical views themselves. After a long deferment, due to the vacancy of the see of Thessalonica, the synodal court in Constantinople examined these accusations acting upon an order sent by the emperor who was still away. For the occasion the synod was complemented "by those senators who happened to be" in Constantinople, identified later in the document with the "senatorial lords"[209]. Some of them, relatives of the emperor and court officials, are named[210]. It is interesting to see that, even after the replacement of the imperial court by that of the Judges General, certain cases were referred by the emperor to the judgement of "senatorial lords" and that even for a case of clear ecclesiastical jurisdiction such lay judges were invited to participate in the examination. Other documents from after the middle of the fourteenth century attest to the practice of inviting "senators" to participate in trials or examinations led by ecclesiastical courts[211]. Perhaps even all the instances that we have seen of the participation of the "Senate" in synods fall within the same pattern. All the evidence presented above leads to the conclusion that Palaiologan Byzantium preserved an existing tradition of an imperial supreme lay court consisting of senators. Perhaps this had originally been the competent court to judge individuals of senatorial status. The preservation of this tradition, however, is not a proof that the state continued to officially recognize such a status. From the cases studied, it appears that the jurisdiction of the imperial court in late Byzantium was determined by the emperor's will and not by the status of the defendents. Perhaps this element of arbitrariness in the supreme court fueled the demand for judicial reform at the highest level and for the creation of a court of fixed membership deliberating independently from the emperor. That such a demand existed is demonstrated by the promises of Michael Palaiologos in 1258, the reform of Andronikos

209Ibid.II, 110:"οἱ εὑρεθέντες ἐνταῦθα τῆς συγκλήτου"; 116, l.125
210Andronikos Palaiologos, cousin of the emperor; George Choumnos, *sympentheros* of the emperor and *epi tes trapezes*; Demetrios Tornikes, uncle of the emperor and grand *drongarios*; an *oikeios* and *protallagator* (Manuel Senachereim? certainly not Michael Senachereim Monomachos, as in note 58 of page 110)
211E.g. Esphig.27, 162; Iviron IV, 158, Such references contributed to foster the belief in the existence of local "senates" in the provincial cities, in this case Serrai and Thessalonica respectively.

II described by Pachymeres[212] and finally by the reform of Andronikos III which was the only one to have a lasting effect[213]. The "senatorial lords" are essentially those aristocrats and officials whose position in the court hierarchy and proximity to the emperor gave them the right to be judges. This right extended beyond the imperial court of justice, beyond the capital itself, and allowed for their participation in other courts, like the ecclesiastical ones. The later documents indicate that this practice became common with time, perhaps following the extension of the jurisdiction of synodal courts in that era.

The survey undertaken in this chapter has attempted to trace the contents and limits of the aristocracy based on the distinctions made by the Byzantine institutional vocabulary. We see that the sources allow us to distinguish one large group within late Byzantine society, a group whose members are the holders of office, the bearers of titles, the blood-relatives of the emperor and those who have an institutionalized personal relationship to him, titular relatives or *oikeioi*. This group determines and to a large extent defines the aristocracy, but should not be considered identical to a social class. First of all, that would exclude even the immediate family of the group's members, if they did not fall into one of the above categories, although they would certainly belong, socially, to the same class. Second, differences in social status, prestige, wealth and mentality divide this large group into several subgroups. The gap between individual members can be enormous in social terms. The important thing, however, is that none of these subgroups evolved into a closed caste, an officially recognized and institutionally demarkated nobility. On the contrary, one observes a lot of internal mobility, that was aided by historical circumstances. It appears as well that, working against this mobility, there was only a sense of family tradition at the most immediate level, father to son or brother to brother, but no sense of class solidarity, no barricading of the higher aristocratic

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212 See above, p.57

213 On the reform of the Judges General see Lemerle, "Le juge général des Grecs et la réforme judiciaire d'Andronic III", *Mémorial Louis Pétit*, Paris 1948, 292 and Ševčenko, "Léon Bardalès et les juges généraux", *Byzantion* 19(1949), 247-259. On the later development of the institution, G.Ostrogorsky, "Les juges généraux de Serrès", *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet* II, Poitiers 1966, 1317-1325

strata against intrusion by those below. This study will use "aristocracy" to refer to that group as a whole and the various discussions that will follow will be using the whole of it as a basis for collecting information. In all cases, however, distinction should be made between the various subgroups and their differences. For the sake of clarity, it may be useful to give here a schematic presentation of these subgroups, as they have emerged from the preceding discussion.

First, there is the aristocracy of high birth which forms in a way the extended family of the emperor, since most of its members could claim some degree of kinship with the emperor or his predecessors, even when they are not officially "relatives". Many can claim imperial blood, since their ancestors were products of marriages between members of an emperor's immediate family and members of the allied aristocratic families. Not surprisingly, the last names dominant in this group are those of a few well known illustrious families[214], most of whom can be traced back to the eleventh century. It should be made clear that we are talking of family names and not families since, as will be discussed elsewhere, the survival of the notion of family continuity in our period is problematic. Most members of this group show disdain for the degraded titles that survive in this period, such as *sebastos*. The closest blood relatives of the reigning emperor are guaranteed a high status independently of whether they hold an office or not; for the rest, court offices are quite important. They seek and occupy almost exclusively offices that entail military command. It is very possible that this high aristocracy was of a predominantly military character and that its members received military training and took part in soldierly activities even before acquiring an office. Another important function of the aristocrats of high birth was as provincial administrators, especially *kephalai* of cities or areas.

The second important subgroup consists of people who originated outside the broad circle described above and made their way up through a successful career in public service. We should rather be talking of "subgroups", since their origins and occupations varied, but

[214]See above, note 108

there was no clear-cut separating line. Few among them were really rootless. Some, like the Choumnoi or the Alyatai, had ancestors who had been serving the imperial administration since the twelfth century. Others, like the Gabalades or the Gabrades probably had their roots in the powerful locally rooted aristocracy of the provinces, a group of families that gained prominence during the period of desintegration before and after the fourth crusade, but lost it after the reimposition of strong centralized rule by the Nicene emperors. The family background of others lay in the "urban patriciate" of large provincial cities, a class whose occupations included, among others, trade and monetary activities, although little can be said with certitude about it, given the scarcity of our information, and the still early stage of historical research on that topic. Apart from varying origins, this category of aristocrats is also characterized by different activities and vocations, but without any apparent corresponding between backgrounds and fields of activity. Some are intellectuals who made their way into the court thanks to their skills. Others prefer economic activities, which they combine with a career in the fiscal administration. For many, the claim to belong to the aristocracy consists in the acquisition of a title, especially that of *sebastos*. Some also reach the lower-ranking offices of the court. A few particularly successful individuals rise to the highest offices, becoming the emperor's close collaborators, those who essentially run the empire. To crown their success, there is the possibility of kinship with the emperor through marriage.

Finally, there are those who rose into the aristocracy through the army. Their family names may be significant or completely obscure. So are the first steps of their careers: very probably they were originally *stratiotai*, the Byzantine parallel to the knights. The formal status of the *stratiotai* themselves could vary, some of them bearing titles, like *megalodoxotatos* or *sebastos*, while others were rather insignificant[215]. Once they succed in

[215]More generally on this topic, see M.Bartusis, "On the Status of Stratiotai during the Late Byzantine Period", *ZRVI* 21(1982) 53-59; B.Ferjančić, "Quelques significations du mot stratiote dans les chartes de basse Byzance", *ZRVI* 21(1982) 95-102

establishing themselves socially they are encountered in offices of a military character, or positions in the provincial administration.

It should be repeated that the above distinction is schematic and simplifying, since several individual cases transcended these categories. It is necessary, however, in order to give some clarity to terms like "high-", "middle-" or "low aristocracy", "aristocracy of military commands" or "bureaucratic aristocracy" and so on, that are being used in this discussion. For the examination that will follow, I will rely on a prosopographically arranged pool of information, consisting essentially of the following categories of individuals: a) *oikeioi* of the emperor, b) relatives of the emperor, either those who officially bear that appelation or those who are known to have had such a relationship, c) holders of court offices and d) title-bearers, especially *sebastoi*. Occasionally the examination will extend to individuals occupying positions in the provincial and fiscal administration, as well as close relatives (parents, brothers, sons) of the individuals belonging to the above categories. Since only the second category allows for the representation of aristocratic women in their own right, I am including in the aristocracy the wives, sisters or daughters of male aristocrats, be it at the danger of overextending the definition of the group. It is clear that the "aristocracy" that I will be examining transcends the boundaries of a social class; it is expected, however, that the social realities behind the institutional divisions, as well as the different social status, economic role, aspirations and behavior of the individuals forming this group will become apparent in the process.

II. THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE ARISTOCRACY

The Byzantine aristocracy did not ever become associated with territorial lordships formed around a firm geographical center of power. In this, it is quite dissimilar from the aristocracies in most Western lands, where the territorial basis of aristocratic dynasties formed, after the ninth century and for most cases, a defining factor in their very self identification. Thus, in Western Europe identifying names initially based on kinship and family descendence were gradually replaced by names of the geographical territory controlled by an aristocratic family or of the strongholds, castles or towns that formed the center of a family's power. On the contrary, in Byzantium, the names by which aristocratic families defined themselves did not denote any particular geographical connection, not even those few aristocratic names whose origins were toponymic (like Komnenos, Synadenos, Kastamonites et c.)[1].

The families that carried those names had long lost any significant connection with their original provenance by the time they rose to prominence. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that at times the connections of the aristocratic families with particular geographical areas could be of paramount importance. The great families of *dynatoi* that figured so prominently in the political and military history of the empire around the tenth century (Phokades, Skleroi, Maleínoi et c.) operated from a firm geographical base in the Anatolian provinces where they had both extensive properties and political power through the posts of *strategoi* of these themes and other high administrative positions which the members of these families occupied almost exclusively in their particular areas of control. It is noticeable,

[1]Such names, on the other hand, may provide interesting information about the kind of geographic environment in which such families were formed. A.P.Kazhdan, *Social'nyj Sostav*, 185-196 observed that "toponymic" names among the military families of the 11th-12th C. were mostly connected with small places in Asia Minor, cities or castles, whereas among the families of the civilian-administrative aristocracy such names mostly came from larger areas, from parts of Constantinople, or from major monasteries in the area of the capital. This, combined with information from other types of names, was interpreted as an indication of the origins of each group, rural and urban respectively. On the other hand, these names can rarely give more precise information about the specific geographic connections of a family: see the observations of J.C.Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 209-210

however, that in spite of this geographical connection, the aspirations of the provincial military aristocracy until the eleventh century were not oriented towards independence and the creation of territorial principalities -and the firm policy of the emperors significantly reduced the potential appeal of such projects- but towards establishing a foothold and gaining control at the very center, Constantinople and the imperial environs; ultimately, many of them made the ultimate bid and claimed the purple.

Finally, the alliance of two aristocratic families, the Komnenoi and the Doukai, managed to gain firm control of the empire. Its policy of entrusting major positions in the provincial administration to members of the ruling "clan", as well as the grants of state resources in various areas, significantly changed the nature of the relationship between the aristocrats and the various territories of the empire. The image of the Comnenian aristocracy was similar to that of a super-family, centered in Constantinople, with its numerous branches covering the provinces. Parallel to that, however, there must have been another, almost invisible reality, as was revealed by what followed the collapse of the Komnenoi. At the limits of the ruling *élite*, local aristocracies developed in relative obscurity; so long as the system was in place, these probably worked within it and for it. But once the system was dislocated by the disastrous reign of Andronikos I and its aftermath, the local aristocracies sprang up with astonishing rapidity to occupy the vacuum of power. This time, however, the aim of the locally powerful aristocrats was not the imperial center. Around the time of the fourth crusade, the empire had broken down into a number of virtually independent lordships, centered around fortified cities and attempting to extend their control as far as their powers in relation to those of the neighbouring lords and foreign powers would allow them to[2]. Naturally, the confusion created by the fourth crusade facilitated these separatist tendancies, but only temporarily. In the long term, the rise of new, strong political centers,

[2]See N.Oikonomidès, "La décomposition de l' empire byzantin à la veille de 1204 et les origines de l' empire de Nicée: à propos de la "Partitio Romaniae"", *XVe congrès international d'études byzantines; rapports et co-rapports*, Athens 1976, 3-28. The author demonstrates that territories not included in the *partitio* were no longer under the control of the Byzantine government on the eve of the fall of Constantinople. If we except Eastern Macedonia and Bithynia, apparently controlled by the deposed Alexios III and his son-in-law, Theodore Laskaris, the other missing areas had become autonomous lordships.

both Byzantine and "Frankish", marked the end of the independentist aspiration of the aristocrats. They were crushed by the new powers or had to come to terms with them, maintaining, in part at least, their properties, but losing all political autonomy. Thus, in Asia Minor Theodore Laskaris, representing imperial legitimacy, forcefully annihilated the independent enclaves of Theodore Mankaphas in Philadelpheia, Basil Chotzas in Bithynia and Manuel Mavrozomes in Phrygia and peacefully incorporated that of Sabbas Asidenos in Sampson[3] while his successor, John III, reached an uneasy -but ultimately succesful for the empire- compromise with the Gabalades, lords of Rhodes[4]. Only the empire of Trebizond, independent already before 1204, managed to survive, but the success of the Lascarids denied it any prospect of expanding towards other former Byzantine provinces[5]. In the West, the Angeloi Doukai Komnenoi of Epeiros peacefully incorporated the areas controlled by John Petraliphas and his family in Thessaly and Macedonia[6], while the latter became prominent magnates in the new state. In the Morea, powerful lords like Leo Sgouros or John Chamaretos were crushed by the Latin knights, while others, like George Daimonoioannes, cooperated with the new lords and accepted a state of feudal subjection to them[7].

The following survey of the geographical patterns connected with the late Byzantine aristocracy begins at a time when these independentist tendencies have been overcome. For the period after the 1240s lordship, that is, autonomous administrative/political power, is only

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[3]Nik. Choniates (ed. van Dieten, CFHB), pp.399-401, 603-604 (Mankaphas), 423 (Chotzas), 626 (Mavrozomes); Akropolites, 12 (Mankaphas, Asidenos); the political details of all these movements are treated by Ἀ.Σαββίδης, Βυζαντινὰ στασιαστικὰ καὶ αὐτονομιστικὰ κινήματα στὰ Δωδεκάνησα καὶ στὴ Μικρὰ Ἀσία 1189–c.1240 μ.Χ., Athens, 1987, pp. 171ff; also see M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile. Government and Society Under the Lascarids of Nicaea (1204-1261)*, Oxford 1975 (hereafter Angold, *Nicaea*), 60-63

[4]On the definitive reconquest of Rhodes, Akrop.I, 86-88

[5]On the empire of Trebizond, in general, see A.Bryer, *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos*, London 1980 and S.P.Karpov, *Trapezundskaja imperija i zapadnoevropejskie gosudarstva v XIII-XV vv.*, Moscow 1981

[6]The information, uncertain and very confused, comes mostly from Job, Life of Theodora, 904. However, documents confirm the important presence of the Petraliphai in early 13th c. Macedonia: Xéropot.8, 69-70, Zogr.VI, 17-18

[7]On Chamaretos and Daimonoioannes, see Chom., 87ff. and P.Magdalino, "A Neglected Authority for the History of the Peloponnese in the Early Thirteenth Century: Demetrios Chomatianos, Archbishop of Bulgaria", *BZ* 70(1977), 316-323. On the Greek aristocrats under Latin rule see D.Jakoby, "Les archontes grecs et la féodalité en Morée franque", *TM* 2 (1967) 421-481 (republished in *Societé et démographie à Byzance et en Romanie latine*, Variorum, London 1975)

rarely one of the factors that connect the aristocrats to a particular area. Instead, I am looking at patterns such as origin, attested physical presence, residence and above all ownership of property in order to establish the imaginary map of the geographical distribution of the aristocracy. The holding of a post in the provincial administration in an area is also important since, besides implying a prolonged residence in that area, it may often serve as a means for establishing a more permanent presence there, mainly through the formation of personal connections and acquisition of property. When examining property patterns, it is important to identify -where the sources allow us to- the origin of particular holdings. If they are inherited, this would naturally imply that the owner's family had a longer presence and potentially deeper roots in the area than if the properties come from dowry, purchase or imperial grants. In the latter case, however, one should be careful to remember that certain imperial acts may be hiding a re-granting or confirmation of tenure of a property that might have been in the beneficiary's family already.

Establishing the map of the aristocrats' geographical distribution along lines of time and space is a rather straightforward task. Things become more complicated once we proceed and attempt to trace patterns of movement and translocation. The main difficulty lies in the very untrustworthy evidence of family names. One should refrain from presuming that the presence of individuals bearing a certain family name in an area demonstrates a movement there from another area, where the same family name had been previously attested, or that the simultaneous presence of a family name in many areas denotes the spread of one single family's sphere of influence or property. The simple reason is that most aristocratic family names are, by the middle of the thirteenth century, more than one, or even two or more centuries old. In many cases, several branches of a family exist in various places; one should be rather talking of several families, since, as far as we can tell, these branches did not have any connections among them[8]. A second semantic shift occurs within the Palaiologan period, when the notion of the extended family itself becomes obsolete and the intense mixing of

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[8]See for example references to Pakourianos and Palaiologos in p.92 and to Synadenos in p.93

family names in ever changing combinations renders futile most attempts to trace relations based on those names[9]. Of course, this call for caution does not imply that information should not be exploited for what it is worth. After all, some family names occur less frequently and are less widely spread than others. Outward circumstances can also be brought into play: if, for example, a family name known from Asia Minor begins appearing, after the Turkish conquests, in European cities where it was not attested before, then we can make a strong point for a pattern of movement. Thankfully, in many cases our information is not restricted to family names but includes precious details about individuals, allowing us to distinguish some main patterns.

A.Asia Minor from 1204 until the Turkish conquest

The anthropogeography of Asia Minor, or at least of its best documented part, the area around Smyrna, in this period has already formed the subject of detailed studies[10]. Based on the evidence from the chartulary of the Lembos monastery, complemented in part by that of Latros and by the documents from the archives of Patmos, these studies have demonstrated the existence, in Asia Minor, of a rather prosperous class of petty aristocrats, that is, people who bear titles like *sebastos* or *megalodoxotatos*, are sometimes *oikeioi* of the emperor and have fortunes consisting both in direct ownership of urban and rural properties and in *pronoiai*. The lower officials of the provincial administration, like the *prokathemenoi* of the cities, are recruited mostly from the ranks of this class, which also includes numerous *stratiotai*. Characteristic family names from the area of Smyrna are those of Kaloeidas, Alopos, Malakes, Blateros, Thrakeses, Alethenos, Zagarommates, Kadianos, Atouemes, Melissenos, Monomachos, et c.[11]. As the last two names hint, some of these families may

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[9]On the Palaiologan system of names see below, Ch. IV, p.228 f.
[10]See Ahrweiler, "L'histoire et la géographie de la région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations Turques (1081-1317), particulièrement au XIIIe siècle", *TM* 1(1965) (hereafter Ahrweiler, "Smyrne"), Appendix, 167-178; also Angold, *Nicaea*, 121-143
[11]Ahrweiler, "Smyrne", 156-158 (Kaloeidas, Alopos, Monomachos), 151 (Malakes), 111 (Alethinos), 139-140 (Kadianos), 167-178 (for the other prominent names). For Atouemes, see MM VI, 175

have been offshoots from aristocratic families of the previous centuries: our evidence, however, does not allow us to distinguish between those who had local roots and those who arrived in the area after 1204. Because of the nature of the evidence we encounter most of these individuals in a rural context, mainly as landowners, but at least some of them are city dwellers and rural landowners at the same time[12]. Possibly it is this group that forms the "archons" of the cities, this class of distinguished citizens, such as we encounter in Smyrna[13].

Alongside this group, we find the presence of the great aristocrats, members of families related to the Komnenoi and the Angeloi, who held prominence in the pre-1204 regime and after the fall of Constantinople re-grouped around the Lascarids. Among the owners of large landed properties and *oikonomiai*, we encounter the names of Nestongos, Philes, Branas, Tarchaneiotes, Aprenos, Synadenos, often combined with the imperial family names of Angelos, Doukas and Komnenos[14]. To those whom we encounter in the sources as landowners we should add some important office holders and occupants of high posts in the provincial administration (such as doux of the theme of Thrakesion), bearers of illustrious names, like Laskaris, Kantakouzenos, Libadarios, Makrenos, Rhaoul, Strategopoulos, Tornikes and, of course, Palaiologos[15]. Almost all of these families maintained their prominence and their descendents formed the high aristocracy under the next dynasty. It is interesting, however, that among the major officials of the Laskarid court and provincial administration we encounter names that either disappear or lose their prominence later. Thus the families, or at least the names, of Krateros, Kourtikes, Ikanatos, Kammytzes-

[12]For example, George Kaloeidas from Smyrna, who owned through dowry a *proasteion* (MM IV, 7, 34), or Const. Phagomodes, archon of Smyrna who owns a field (MM IV 10, 190 ; maybe the two persons by the name of Phagomodes are not identical, but they must be relatives, since they bear the same family name at the same period and in the same locality). Other landowners reside in villages, like the *charistikarios* Const. Monomachos, resident of Genikon (ibid. 262-263)

[13]Apart from Phagomodes, this appelation is given to Theophylaktos Brachionites and Isaac Lebounes in 1232 (MM IV, 190); all three are *sebastoi* and *oikeiotatoi* of the emperor. They must certainly be distinguished from the archons of the Church of Smyrna, such as we encounter in MM IV, 282.

[14]Ahrweiler, "Smyrne", 167-178

[15]The reader is referred to the list of officials in table I and the list of aristocratic landowners in table IIIb. See also Angold, *Nicaea*, 69ff.

Kammytzoboukes, all of whom had given dukes of the Thrakesion theme in the 13th c.[16], disappear from the history of the Byzantine aristocracy - some of them disappear from Byzantine history altogether. The powerful independent lords who were forced to come to terms with the Laskarids, Sabbas Asidenos of Sampson (ancient Priene) and probably the Gabalades of Rhodes, assured a place of aristocratic prominence for themselves[17], but not for their progeny, since their names disappear from the foreground. Perhaps the latter family had some connection with John Gabalas, a prominent aristocrat of the 1340's with uncertain family and geographic origins[18], or with the Philadelpheian scholar and bishop of Ephesos Manuel-Mathew Gabalas, in the first half of the fourteenth century, or with both. It is noticeable that the interests of the great aristocratic families shift away from Asia Minor as the reconquest of the West proceeds: after the 1250s, the dukes of the Eastern themes and the governors of Asiatic cities come less and less from their ranks; their names are now the likes of Kalothetos, Krybitziotes, Syropoulos, Autoreianos, Broullas, Kalampakes, Selagites[19]. There are some famous exceptions, like Alexios Philanthropenos Tarchaneiotes and his nemesis, Libadarios, in 1293-95, but these concern perhaps extraordinary military commands in the face of pressing Turkish danger and not the traditional office of *doux*[20]. In general, the high aristocrats seem to have preferred administrative posts in the European cities of the empire, where their prospects of enlarging their wealth amd power, were expanding, rather than contracting, as was the case in Asia Minor. Some less prominent aristocratic families, however, seem to have remained in the area. In 1329 the governor of Mesothinia was the

[16]Ahrweiler,"Smyrne", 140-144

[17]Asidenos remained all powerful in the city of Sampson as late as 1214: in MM V, 257 the Sampsenoi are called his paroikoi. The *Megas Drongarios* Gabalas, who owned fields and exercised arbitrary power locally soon after the middle of the 13th c., could well be the former lord of Rhodes, John Gabalas, or a very close relative (MM IV, 165ff, 254).

[18]PLP 24126, which excludes references to the same person under the name John Rhaoul. As I have argued in the first chapter, the identity is almost certain. See also Fassoulakis, *The Byzantine Family of Raoul-Ral(l)es*, Athens 1973, 46ff.

[19]Ahrweiler, *op.cit.*, 146ff, 165; for Selagites, see Patmos I , 259, II, 177.

[20]Neither Philanthropenos nor Libadarios are referred to in the sources as dukes. Ahrweiler, "Smyrne", 151, 165 attributes to them this capacity, since their areas of command correspond with the themes of Thrakesion and Neokastra respectively, but admits in the case of Philanthropenos that his extraordinary powers surpassed by far those of a usual duke

protokynegos Kontophre, whose family name had known some distinction during the Nicene period[21]. Alongside with pursuing a court career, he maintained connections in the few cities that still resisted the Turkish onslaught, like Herakleia and Amastris, as late as 1346[22].

There are two major problems arising from the limitations of the main sources. The first is that for the rest of Asia Minor, paticularly the very important areas to the South of the Propontis (which remained under Byzantine control for considerably longer time), we do not know nearly as much as we do for the area of Smyrna. We know that important personalities in the fields of letters and politics originated in Bithynia (such as Alexios Apokaukos[23]) or Paphlagonia (such as Nikephoros Gregoras, native of Herakleia[24]), but almost nothing about eventual connections they may have kept there. Herakleia may also have had some particular relationship with Nikephoros Choumnos (who had agents there[25]). Then we know the names of some officials active locally, like Nicholas Manouelites, Leo Mouzalon, Leo Bardales or Constantine Cheilas[26]. Only in the last case do we discern some more permanent connection with the area (he used his authority as *apographeus* to forcibly extend the lands he owned in the area of Nicomedea. His brother, John, was the abbot of the local monastery of Mesampela and later rose to become metropolitan of Ephesos[27]). It is also by exception that we know about the two brothers Fordenoi, who jointly owned land and arbitrarily imposed their dominance on the peasants around the castle of Peladarion, in Bithynia (probably exploiting the anomalous situation reigning in the area around 1315)[28], or about the villages in Paphlagonia and the theme of Optimaton that were part of the *pronoia* of the *kaballarios* Demetrios Syr Mourinos. The latter resided in Europe, though, where the remaining parts of

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[21]The *sebastos* Manuel Kontophre had been duke of Thrakesion in 1240 and commander of the imperial navy in 1241-42. See Ahrweiler, "Smyrne", 143-144
[22]Kantak.I, 241, II,589
[23]Kantak.II, 89
[24]J.L.Van Dieten, *Nikephoros Gregoras:Rhomäische Geschichte* I, Stuttgart 1979, 2
[25]This is my interpretation of the affair in Patr.Reg.I, 588: a resident of Herakleia produced a falsified testament in favor of Choumnos.
[26]Pach.I ii, 321 (Manouelites); Pach.II, 308,327ff (Mouzalon); for Bardales see the combined references of PLP2179 and 2183; for Cheilas see PLP 30766
[27]Greg.Cyp.Ep., Nos 102 and 105
[28]Patr.Reg.I 31, 260-2

his *pronoia* were situated[29]. There is a cursory reference to the *dynatoi* of the city of Proussa in a letter of Gregory of Cyprus that implies a clear distinction from the rest of the citizens but it is not clear how this distinction was applied[30].

John Batatzes, an official and powerful lord in Thrace during the second civil war, was probably from Northwestern Asia Minor[31]. His case shows that the transition from Asia to Europe did not signify the total abandoning of social and political connections in Asia: Batatzes had contacts with the emir of Karasi, with whom he later concluded an ill-fated matrimonial alliance. The fact that he was leading a body of soldiers called Achyraïtai (Achyraous was located in the area conquered by Karasi) makes it likely that both Batatzes and his soldiers were refugees. Their area of origin, however, must have been conquered more than three decades before Batatzes' appearance in 1341. Perhaps there were exceptions to the broad picture of the massive departure of the locals, particularly the more wealthy ones, before or at the moment of Turkish conquest. Later Turkish legends preserved the tradition of Byzantine aristocrats from Asia Minor who apostasized, joined the Turks and started Turkish aristocratic lines[32]. Byzantine sources, however, are completely silent and it is probable that later Turkish aristocrats exaggerated the social status of their Byzantine ancestors.

Our information is also scarce about the city of Philadepheia, the last part of Asia Minor to submit to the Turks. Prosopographical research has thrown some light on the Tagaris family, the only one to reach real prominence under the Palaiologoi, as well as on more obscure cases, hardly aristocrats themselves but perhaps aristocratic descendents, like the soldier John Monomachos or the ecclesiastic Manuel Gabalas, to whom can be added his friend Kallierges[33]. The only common trait they have is that, with the exception of Manuel

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[29]Doch. 9,107-108

[30]Letter 120: The inhabitants of Proussa were charged with a fine of 600 (hyperpyra?) for some misdeed. The dynatoi were not guilty like the rest and did not have to pay.

[31]Batatzes is discussed, with references, in the chapter about Thrace below.

[32]The best known example is Köse-Mihal. See S.Vryonis jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Berkeley 1971, 468

[33]D.Nicol, "Philadelphia and the Tagaris Family", *Neo-Hellenica* I (1970), 9-17; H.Ahrweiler, "La région de Philadelphie au XIVe siècle (1290-1390), dernier bastion de l'Hellénisme en Asie Mineure", *Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*, comptes rendus 1983, 175-197; H.Ahrweiler, "Philadélphie et Théssalonique au début du XIVe siècle: à propos de Jean Monomaque", *Byzantina Sorbonensia* 4 , 9-16; Σ.Κουρούσης,

Tagaris, governor of the city at various times, they are all living away from their endangered homeland. It is interesting to note that the names Monomachos and Gabalas are also encountered in the area of Smyrna. We may have multiple branches descended from one family or perhaps movement from areas conquered by the Turks to the only remaining Byzantine enclave after the beginning of the fourteenth century.

A second handicap due to the sources, is that we cannot know more about the physical location of the high aristocracy in Asia Minor. Did they live close to their rural possessions or in the cities? Were they centered in one city or dispersed? Did they move their residence away from Asia Minor before the Turkish advance? The very few clues that we have do not allow us to answer those questions with certainty. It is possible that during the period of the Nicene exile many high aristocrats had at least an occasional residence close to the court, at Nymphaion. The house of one of them, John Doukas, hosted the Patriarchal Synod when it convened in that city in 1250[34] (the Synod's permanent see was in the old capital, Nicaea). On the other hand, an important magnate, the *protosebastos* Manuel Laskaris, brother of Theodore I and *gambros* of Michael VIII, perhaps resided in Proussa, where he was placed under house arrest in 1259. Some of his landed properties lay at a considerable distance, in the area of Miletos[35]. It should be kept in mind that from the mid-1240s until 1261 the emperors were almost constantly campaigning in Europe and, even when they returned to their capital, most of the important members of their court and other high aristocrats remained in the West, either as leaders of army bodies or as commanders of cities. It is not inconceivable, although the sources are completely silent about that, that some of them might have already begun to settle in the Western cities with their families.

In any case, the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261 signaled a new phase, marked by the transplantation of the high aristocracy from Asia Minor to the new capital, but there is

Μανουὴλ Γαβαλᾶς, εἶτα Ματθαῖος μητροπολίτης Ἐφέσου (1271/2–1355/60). Τ.Α΄, Τὰ βιογραφικά. Athens 1972; for Kallierges see Gabalas' monody edited by L.Previale, "Due monodie inedite di Matteo di Efeso", *BZ* 41 (1941), 21-27.

[34]Iviron III **57**, 85

[35]Pach.I.i, 113; Patmos I **14**, 129; **27**, 248

no reason to believe that this movement took place overnight. Pachymeres informs us that in 1261, on the orders of Michael VIII, all the great magnates sent their people to the newly conquered city in order to claim their family palaces and other landed property that belonged to their ancestors before 1204, while the Caesar Alexios Strategopoulos was responsible for alloting to the grandees unclaimed properties[36]. One can easily imagine that this issue could not have been settled as easily as that and, in any case, it must have concerned only some of the great aristocrats. Whatever really happenned in 1261, in the following decades the high aristocracy is well settled in Constantinople, where they have their own palaces, shrines and urban properties, although the issue of their permanent residence remains somewhat obscure.

However, during the rest of the century important members of the imperial family campaigned against the Turks in Asia Minor and often resided there for long periods of time, for example the Despot John around 1263 and Andronikos II in 1280. Between 1290 and 1293, and perhaps even before that, the emperor Andronikos II had moved back to the old capital of Nymphaion and court life had moved there with him: we see that in the feast of the Holy Apostles in 1292 many aristocratic ladies visited the empress in Nymphaion to pay their respects according to the protocol[37]. His brother, the porphyrogennetos Constantine, had apparently resided in Nympahion even before his brother's arrival and even built a fortress[38]. The emperor's other brother, Theodore, still resided in the area in 1295, when he was captured by Alexios Philanthropenos[39]. Some aristocrats maintained at least a symbolic attachment to Asia Minor: The *protovestiarios* and Grand Logothete Theodore Mouzalon was transported to Nicaea when he died and was interred in the monastery founded there by Demetrios Tornikes[40]. His successor as *Mesazon,* Constantine Akropolites, who resided in the capital, manifests in his letters a strong attachment to Asia Minor, where perhaps part of

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[36]Pach.I.i, 213-215
[37]Pach.II, 154-155. Andronikos II's residence in Asia Minor is discussed with more detail in the last chapter, p.312f.
[38]Pach.II, 226
[39]Pach.II, 220
[40]Pach.II, 193. The author states that Mouzalon had "some sort of founder's right (*ktetorikon dikaion*) through his wife". However, she did not, as far as we know, bear the epithet Tornikes or have any explicit connection with the family of Demetrios Tornikes.

his family still resided[41]. Having fallen in temporary disgrace after the revolt of his son-in-law, Alexios Philanthropenos, Akropolites was not allowed to cross to the East, although he longed to[42]. In another letter, Akropolites mentions a monastery where he and his wife intend to be interred and where he hopes that he wiil be able to transport his dead daughter. This place is obviously not in Constantinople and therefore cannot be Akropolites' own (later?) foundation of the Ressurection; since his wife was a Tornikina, it is possible that he is referring to the same Nicene monastery[43]. Before examining the situation in Constantinople in more detail, though, it would be better to turn to the traits marking the geographical distribution of the aristocracy in the other half of the "beheaded" Byzantine world, the Western Greek state and the European provinces over which it competed with the empire of Nicaea.

B. The Despotate of Epiros until the death of Michael II[44]

Although the archbishop of Bulgaria, Demetrios Chomatianos, claimed in a letter to the exiled patriarch of Constantinople that a considerable part of the court aristocracy of the Angelian regime had fled to the West after 1204[45], the existing sources do not allow us to discern a particularly strong presence of the old great aristocratic families in the state founded by Michael Angelos Doukas Komnenos in Epiros. With the exception of the Despots' own family, the only other family of great aristocrats who had been part of the Komnenian

[41]At least his sick son was in the area of Nicaea around 1296: Akrop.Ep., 160
[42]Ibid.161-162
[43]Ibid. 174-175. For the monastery of the ressurection, see Patr.Reg.I 73, 432. The name of his wife is known from the inscription on an icon dedicated by her and her husband: see PLP 29140
[44]The standard bibliographic reference for that state is D.Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, Oxford 1957 (hereafter Nicol, *Epiros*), and *The Despotate of Epiros II, 1267-1479: a Contribution to the History of Greece in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge 1984. For the geography of the area of Epiros see P.Soustal, *Nikopolis und Kephallenia*, Vienna, 1981 (=Tabula Imperii Byzantini 3). For the internal organization and administration of the Despotate in the thirteenth century, see G.Prinzing, "Studien zur Provinz- und Zentralverwaltung im Machtbereich der Epirotischen Herrschher Michael I. und Theodoros Dukas" Teil I-II, *Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ* 24-25(1982)
[45]Chom. 490

aristocratic system and had remained prominent under the Angeloi is that of Petraliphas[46]. In the beginning of the thirteenth century two Petraliphai, John and Nikephoros, are prominent in Macedonia and Thessaly, both with the exalted rank of *sebastocrator*[47]. Perhaps John inherited the rank and lands of Nikephoros, since much later (1262) we find out that part of the vast properties that Nikephoros possessed from his grandmother, Maria Komnene, daughter of John II, had passed to the son of John Petraliphas, Theodore[48]. In any case, according to our unsatisfactory information John continued to control "Macedonia and Thessaly" as *sebastocrator* under the suzerainty of the Angeloi-Doukai and when he died the "emperor" Theodore Angelos Doukas confirmed his two sons, one of whom was called Theodore, to his "ἀρχή". Whatever the exact truth behind this story, it is certain that the Petraliphai were prominent under the despotate and the short-lived empire of Thessalonica. In 1227, an Andronikos Petraliphas owned large properties in the area of Strymon[49]. The Despot Michael II, soon after his accession (ca. 1230) took as his wife Theodore's sister, Theodora, whose conduct as *basilissa*[50]won her the admiration of hagiographer and historian alike. On the other hand, the family maintained strong contacts with the rival court at Nicaea: in 1241 and 1242 the Grand Chartulary John Petraliphas distinguished himself in John III's army, fighting both against the Franks of Constantinople and against the Angeloi of Thessalonica[51]. Theodore Petraliphas himself married the daughter of the emperor's closest

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[46]Nicol, *Epiros*, app.I, 215-6
[47]For Nikephoros see Xéropot.8, 69-70; Zogr.VI, 17ff. For John see Job, *Life of Theodora*, 904
[48]The properties were situated in Hierissos. But whereas Hierissos was part of Nikephoros' domain (see previous note), Theodore possessed only part of it : Iviron III **58**, 92; **59**, 99; **62**, 115; **72**, 185.
[49]The relevant document survives only in Slavic translation, published by A. Solovjev, "Un inventaire de documents byzantins de Chilandar", *Annales de l' institut Kondakov (Seminarium Kondakovianum)* X (1938), 46-47
[50]It is well known that in late Byzantium this title denoted the wife of a Despot, while the wife of a *basileus* was called *despoina* or *basilis* (see for example Verpeaux, *Ps.Kodinos*, 257). No source, as far as I know, gives the reason for this strange practice.
[51]Akrop.I, 58, 66 (According to Scutariotes, 283 he was Grand Hetaireiarch). Nicol, *loc.cit.*, identifies him with his Western namesake, but that is to be excluded: even if his son's prominence in the West could be explained, there is no explanation for the sudden demotion of a *sebastocrator* to a much lower rank, especially since the former title was not conferred by the Western Despots or emperors but by the pre-1204 regime, therefore the Nicene court would have no grounds for not recognizing it. On the other hand, it is possible that the hagiographer Job mistakenly attributes to the Western John Petraliphas that lofty title, especially if John was in reality Nikephoros Petraliphas' son.

collaborator, Demetrios Tornikes. The decisive step was his defection to the imperial side in 1252, perhaps motivated by the hope of preserving part of his ancestral estates in Macedonia, by then firmly under the control of the Nicene empire. This defection had a resounding effect in his brother-in-law's camp, as Theodore's example was immediately followed by important cities and allies, a point that illustrates the importance of the Petraliphai. It seems, however, that once the despot Michael II had managed to form a mighty alliance against the empire, Theodore reverted to his cause: he was killed fleeing the advancing imperial armies in 1259 and his family disappeared from the foreground[52]. Another family that may have been descended from the imperial aristocracy of the twelfth century is represented by two bearers of the name Komnenos[53]. Admittedly, that imperial family name could have spread to lower social strata and is an uncertain indication on its own, but both the individuals in question were characterized by the sources as "most noble ((παν)ευγενέστατοι)". The attribution of "nobility" is an unofficial but good sign that they belonged to the high aristocracy[54]. One of them was governor of Skopje, sometime in the 1220's.

Apart from the Petraliphai and Komnenoi there are some other, less illustrious aristocratic families that in the Western Greek states rise above the merely local level[55]. Following is a partial alphabetical survey of these families together with other families that are only known to have held prominence in a restricted geographical area. The period surveyed stops in the second half of the thirteenth century, but an attempt is made to trace, where possible, the subsequent fate of these families. The reason for this is that after the death of Michael II Epiros was gradually divided into parts controlled by the empire and parts controlled by the Westerners (first the Angevines, then the Orsini family); the dividing line

[52]Akrop.I, 90, 91, 166. Some of Theodore's properties in Hierissos reverted to the crown and were granted to the monastery of Iviron.
[53]Andronikos Komnenos (Chom. 123f) and George Komnenos (*ibid.* 543-544)
[54]See the discussion of nobility in ch.IV, p.249f.
[55]Two Sen(n)achereim appear to have held commands in 1204. One of them in Thrace (Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 147, no.209) and the other in Epiros, where he was doux of the theme of Nikopolis but was murdered soon after 1204 (Nicol, *Epiros*, 11-13). We do not know if the family retained its prominence in the West. The Palaiologan Senachereim are probably descended from the Nicene bureaucrat and official Michael Senachereim.

was not stable and for practical purposes I will be examining the aristocracy in the parts controlled by the empire together with the rest of the European provinces under the Palaiologoi. Another important factor is that the descendents of many families of the early Despotate after the middle of the century spread geographically in other parts of the restored empire.

A(n)drianos. Soon after the conquest of Thessalonica by Theodore Angelos in 1224, the "most noble" lady Eudokia Andriane, who originated in that city but resided in Berroia, wished to return to Thessalonica and claim the part of her first husband's property that belonged to her. In the next century the Adrianoi are well attested in Thessalonica. Two bearers of the name Doukas Adrianos are of aristocratic status[56].

Euripiotes. The family is represented by five siblings, Artemios, Basil, George, Maria and Kale, residents of Berroia, in the 1220s. Basil was a *megalodoxotatos archon* and attacked in court the will of his brother, George, whose fortune included vineyards, urban properties in Berroia and the lordship (ἀρχοντία) of a village, the latter from dowry. Among the later Euripiotai, there is a Thessalonian landowning family, including a *stratiotes,* attested for the period 1300-1321[57].

Gabras. A family bearing this very common name is represented by the *sebastos* Stephen Gabras and the *megalepiphanotatos* Gregory Gabras, lord of the village Voda, near Prilep, around 1222. The name is too widespread, therefore no connection can be established with the numerous Gabrades of that and the next century[58].

Glabas. A Glabas, potentate in Kastoria, followed Theodore Petraliphas in his defection in 1252. With him, the whole area passed under imperial control[59]. This defection may lie at the origin of the fortune of several Glabades who own land in Macedonia around the end of the

[56]Chom., 79. For the Adrianoi of Thessalonica, see PLP Nos 309, 310, 311, 313, 315, 91066, 91067
[57]Chom., 105; Chil.67, 153f.
[58]Chom., 99, 539
[59]Akrop.I, 90

thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century[60]. The relationship of his family with Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotes, the famous army leader under the early reign of Andronikos II, is unknown.

Indanes. A lady Theodora "tou Indanou" had the lordship of Malaina in the early thirteenth century. The name of Indanes is represented by office-holders in Thessalonica and landowners in Eastern Macedonia in the next century[61].

Kabasilas. The roots of the Kabasilai, so prominent in fourteenth-century Thessalonica, lie probably in the state of the Angeloi Doukai. Perhaps the vehicle for the family's rise[62] was the ecclesiastic career of Constantine Kabasilas, which began before 1235 at the episcopal sees of Strumitza and Dyrrachium and culminated with the archbishopric of Bulgaria. By 1259 his two brothers had also risen to prominence: Theodore was a "προύχων"[63], while John was an influential minister, perhaps *mesazon* of the despot Michael II. This connection turned against the archbishop, who was deposed by Theodore II, but was restored to his see when he assisted Michael VIII's army in capturing the city of Achris (Ohrid)[64]. In the subsequent decades most of the known Kabasilai are in Thessalonica, but some still have connections with Epiros. The *epi tou stratou* Kabasilas was given by imperial grant a village near Ioannina before 1321. Alexios Kabasilas was a notable with firmly rooted local power that enabled him to successfully revolt against the empire and capture the town of Rogo, forcing the emperor to a compromise and gaining the office of Grand Constable in 1339[65].

Kamonas. The *sebastos* George Kamonas, local lord in the area of Croia between 1204-1217, was important enough to marry first the daughter of Ghin, the Albanian leader and then

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[60]On the other hand, the Glabades had been prominent for centuries and we may have to do with various branches: see Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 232-33, 372 n. 64

[61]Bees/Apokaukos, 80; see also PLP nos. 8208, 24878, 24908

[62]Again, I am speaking of the late Byzantine period. The Kabasilai had been of course a prominent family in the eleventh century (Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 217-8, 308-9) and the late Kabasilai are undoubtedly their biological descendents. See also A. Angelopoulos, "Τὸ γενεαλογικὸν δένδρον τῆς οἰκογενείας τῶν Καβάσιλων", *Makedonika* 17(1977), 367-395

[63]More precisely, one of the *prouchontes* of Michael II (συνηριθμεῖτο τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ προύχουσι). In that context the word means, I think, "prominent people", perhaps the courtiers of Michael II.

[64]Akrop.I, 166-67; Chom.617-8 (PLP nos. 10087, 10094, 10097)

[65]MM V, 86-87 (=Lampros, in NE 12[1915], 40); Kantak.I, 509, 513ff. (PLP nos. 10068, 10073)

the daughter of Stephen Nemanja of Serbia (a granddaughter of emperor Alexios III). The name practically disappears afterwards[66].

Kastamonites. The *pansebastos protokentarchos* John Kastamonites had a village in Aitolia in the beginning of the thirteenth century, which he gave to his daughter as dowry[67]. His office(?) had disappeared from the sources for centuries and is never encountered again afterwards[68]. The accompanying epithet *pansebastos* is generally associated with the title of *sebastos*. His family bears a rather old aristocratic name and is probably unconnected with the Kastamonitai of Smyrna in the same century.

Lampetes. A Constantine Lampetes, son of Theodore, was *megalepiphanestatos* under Theodore and Manuel Angelos. He was probably related to the ambassador sent by the Despot Michael II to the emperor in 1252. A Lampetes wrote a manuscript in 1263/64 at the orders of a Komnenos Doukas, perhaps the Despot or a close relative[69].

Maliasenos. A family of great magnates in the area of Demetrias in Thessaly. The identification of their name with that of Melissenos, a prominent aristocratic family of the previous period, is no longer generally accepted[70]. Constantine Maliasenos' presence in Thessaly dates at least from 1215. He was an important army commander under Michael II, whose sister he married; in 1252 he was sent as ambassador to John III[71]. Constantine's son, Nicholas, defected to the side of the empire, assuring his possessions and marrying a niece of Michael VIII. Their son, John, is the last known representative of the family. They must have held on to their properties at least until 1286, when the chartulary of their family monasteries of Makrynitissa and Nea Petra was compiled.

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[66]Chom., 1ff, 23ff

[67]Bees/Apokaukos, 58

[68]A *kentarchos* was a commander of 100 men during the middle period. The *protokentarchos* was considered one of the *dynatoi* according to the definition of Romanos I (*ODB*, s.v. "Kentarchos"). I do not know of any other mention after the tenth century.

[69]Chom., 165, 501; Akrop.I, 91; PLP no.14419

[70]*ODB*, s.v. "Maliasenos". Almost sll the information about the Maliasenoi comes from the Makrynitissa chartulary, MM IV, 330-430; cf. B.Ferjančić, "Posedi porodice Maliasina u Tesaliji", *ZRVI* 9(1966), 33-48 (Serbocr. with French summary)

[71]Akrop.I, 91

Mykaris. The *megalodoxotatos* Nikephoros Mykaris was duke of Bela early in the thirteenth century. The name is not encountered again, but it may be another forn for Myg(i)ares, borne by officials in Thessaly in the fourteenth century[72].

Pakourianos. George Pakourianos was an *archon* in Berroia before the Bulgarian occupation of the city in the first decade of the thirteenth century. This family name, which may denote a family tracing back to that of the famous Georgian commander of the eleventh century[73], is also attested in Smyrna later (1287). We may have to do with two completely separate branches, or with a migration of the uprooted family to the East in search of better fortune[74].

Palaiologos. A branch of Western Palaiologoi is represented by Andronikos Palaiologos, who, after the accession of his relative, Michael VIII, to the throne of Nicaea, moved to the imperial court and became *Protostrator*, with the honorary title of the emperor's "cousin"-"ἐξάδελφος". It appears that the two branches were distinct from each other but maintained a strong conscience of the kinship ties between them[75]. It is not known whether any Palaiologoi of importance remained in the West and it is difficult to connect either branch with the Thessalonian Palaiologoi, who were leaders of the Zealot movement in the 1240s[76].

Pegonites. The *megalodoxotatos* Constantine Pegonites was duke of Berroia around 1220, while the *sebastos* Alexios Pegonites was duke of Thessalonica in 1233 and 1240. It cannot be said whether there is any connection with some Pegonitai attested later in Constantinople. On the other hand, a connection seems more likely with a Thessalian landowner of the first half of the fourteenth century[77].

Plytos. Nothing is known about the family of John Plytos, provincial governor and finally *mesazon* of Theodore Angelos. About a century later, in 1322/23, a Plytos was granted lands

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[72]Chom., 367. For Myg(i)ares, see PLP nos.19836, 19838

[73]The name is eclipsed during the twelfth century: Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 255 and n.53

[74]Chom., 216; MM IV, 278

[75]Pach.I.i, 155

[76]Andreas (PLP 21425) and Michael Palaiologos (PLP 21527)

[77]Chom., 395, 451, 525; Goudas, "Βυζαντιακὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς ἐν Ἄθῳ ἱερᾶς μονῆς τοῦ Βατοπεδίου" in *EEBS* 4, 211ff; Solovjev/Mošin, *Povelje*, 222ff.

in Chalkidike by the emperor. If there is a connection, then we may have one more case of an Epirote aristocratic family passing under imperial service sometime after 1250[78].

Pyrros. The brothers Alexios and Leo, *megalodoxotatoi*, owned villages in Aitolia ca. 1219-1224. In the fourteenth century there is a Pyrros family of middle status in Thessalonica[79].

Skoutariotes. Andronikos Skoutariotes was *megalodoxotatos archon* in Berroia in the late 1220s. Slightly earlier we hear of Kyr George Skoutariotes, husband of the lady Maria Artine. The name Skoutariotes is widespread under the Palaiologoi and there is no ground for establishing a connection between this West Macedonian family and subsequent bearers of the name. A Skoutariotes of unknown status, who sold a small plot of land (four modioi) near Berroia sometime before 1326 may be an exception to that: in his case geographical location would argue in favor of a connection with the Skoutariotai who resided in the same city a century earlier[80].

Sphrantzes. A Sphrantzes was the first husband of Maria Petraliphaina, sister of the *Basilissa* Theodora, before 1257. Their son was in all probability the *parakoimomenos* Gabriel Sphrantzes, an official of Michael VIII's court, blinded before 1280[81]. The Epirote Sphrantzes, therefore, may be the ancestor of all the fourteenth and fifteenth-century aristocrats bearing this name. Nicol, following Hopf, accepts that behind this name lay a certain Francesco, probably an Orsini[82]. The etymology sounds persuasive, but the hellenization of the word and its conversion into a family name may have taken place long before this particular Sphrantzes. One suspects that if he was Italian, then Akropolites would have hinted at that.

Stases. Manuel Stases, a *megalepiphanotatos* and *hypotagatos* (perhaps "bondsman", according to P.Magdalino) of the Despot Theodore was sent by the Despot as messenger to

[78]Chom., 11, 105, 125, 133, 199, 446; also PLP 23395

[79]Bees/Apokaukos, 58-59; PLP nos. 23931-23938. As with all families that had achived aristocratic status long before 1204, connections between two branches are uncertain. On the early Pyrroi see Cheynet,*Pouvoir et contestations* 342; Kazhdan, *Social'nyj sostav*, 149

[80]Chom., 105, 171; PLP 26193

[81]Akrop.I, 140; Gabriel is PLP 27276; his relation to the former is established by Pachymeres' information (I.ii, 621) that he was a cousin of John Doukas Angelos.

[82]Nicol, *Epiros*, 215, note 8

George Daimonoioannes in Laconia, sometime around 1222. He is the only bearer of the name that I know of[83].

Synadenos. At least one branch of the Synadenoi was active in the West. In 1276 John Doukas Angelos Komnenos Synadenos, governor of Polog in Western Macedonia defected to the Palaiologan cause and was rewarded with the court office of Grand Stratopedarch and an imperial bride[84]. His names indicate the close relationship of his family with the Epirote ruling dynasty. The famous Synadenoi of the fourteenth century are his descendents, but there is no point in trying to connect the family with the less illustrious Synadenoi of the period, since the name was already quite widespread[85].

Syropoulos. The family of the *megalodoxotatos* Hadrian Syropoulos, landowner in little Vagenitia in the early thirteenth century, may be connected with the Syropouloi of the Constantinopolitan Court later, but there is no certainty, since the name is not of the rarest[86].

Taronas. The family of Taronas seems to have been quite important in the West: in the first decades of the thirteenth century there is a local lord ("archon") of that name in the area of Bothroton and a *sebastos*, Isaac Taronas, pronoia-owner in Aitolia[87]. After 1250, a Taronas was all powerful in Thessaly and other parts of the West, to the point that John the Bastard, ruler of Thessaly married his daughter in order to gain his military support[88]. The fate of the family is unknown, but some obscure Taronades are attested in Western Macedonia as late as the fifteenth century[89].

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[83]Chom. 92, 94-98; on the affair and the date see P.Magdalino, "A Neglected Authority for the History of the Peloponnese in the Early Thirteenth Century", *BZ* 70(1977), 316-323

[84]Kantak.I, 37

[85]On the family in general see Ch.Hannick/G.Schmalzbauer, "Die Synadenoi. Prosopographische Untersuchung zu einer byzantinischer Familie", *JÖB* 25(1976), 125-161 (hereafter Hannick/Schmalzbauer, "Synadenoi"). Nos 19, 20, 21 show the parallel existence of prominent Synadenoi in Asia Minor during the early 13th C. Nos 32, 33, 41-45, 47, 48 are examples of later Synadenoi who are either clergymen or Church officials. There is no evidence connecting them to the progeny of John Synadenos.

[86]Bees/Apokaukos, 242; see also PLP 27218 and *DVL* I,165

[87]Chom., 343; Bees/Apokaukos, 59

[88]Pach.I.i, 117; according to Marino Sanudo, Taronas was "signor de la Parte, d'Odrich e finalmente della Blachia"(ibid., 116, note 5). "Parte" could be Neai Patrai and "Odrich" Ohrid; this interpretation, however, would stretch Taronas' lordship over too large an area, since apart from Thessaly it would include Western Macedonia.

[89]PLP nos. 27520 and 27521, in Ohrid and Berrhoia respectively.

Tzamas. The family of Basil Tzamas, *gambros* of Theodore Angelos and duke of Berroia ca. 1224/25, did not give any other members of importance[90].

The most important sources for the history of Western Greece in that time are the *Responsa* of Demetrios Chomatianos and the correspondence of John Apokaukos, metropolitan of Naupaktos. These cover only the second, third and partly the fourth decade of the thirteenth century and, even within that period, they only occasionally provide information concerning the geographical location of individuals. Their information, however, combined with other sources and especially those concerning the history of those parts after the Lascarid/Palaiologan reconquest, allows us to discern some basic routes of geographic mobility of aristocratic individuals and families, in a tentative way. Obviously, the first major current of mobility was directed into Epiros, following the conquest of Constantinople, Thrace and Macedonia by the crusaders and the subsequent temporary occupation of the latter two regions by the Bulgarians. The founding dynasty of the Despotate is itself an examplary case. Their choice to head West -and the same is true for the Petraliphai- was not unrelated with previous connections they had in those parts. On the other hand, as the survey of family names indicates, Epiros was not a great pole of attraction for great aristocratic families, at least not to any extent comparable with the rival Byzantine state of Nicaea. Another influx attested for Epiros concerns certain refugee Greek lords of the Morea, after the crusaders of Guillaume de Champlitte and Geoffroy Villehardouin managed to impose their authority in the peninsula between 1205-1222. Among them was the Despot John Chamaretos: in a letter to Chamaretos' father-in-law, who remained in Latin Achaia, Theodore I urged him to send his daughter to her husband, noting that she would not feel estranged in his court, thanks to the multitude of Peloponnesians who had fled there[91].

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[90] Chom., 105

[91] Chom. 92-94. See again Magdalino, art.cit., as well as D.Nicol, "Refugees, Mixed Population, and Local Patriotism in Epiros and Western Macedonia after the Fourth Crusade", *XVe congrès international d' études byzantines*, Athens 1976, 17-19

The partial reconquest of Thessaly and Macedonia by Michael I and Theodore I, must have been accompanied by the settlement of aristocrats to these parts, including the cities of Berroia and Thessalonica. The Maliasenoi in Thessaly are an example of this. One can imagine that the fate of the aristocrats settled in Western Macedonia followed those of Theodore's ephemeral empire. That state shrunk dramatically in face of the second Bulgarian onslaught, after the battle of Klokotnitza, then timidly reasserted itself until the definite reconquest by the armies of John III Batatzes.

The pattern that presents itself in the process of the Nicene conquest of Western Macedonia and Thessaly is too consistent to be due to hazard. Many Western aristocrats defected en masse to the side of the emperor, in whose court some of them already had connections[92]. Petraliphas, Glabas, Synadenos, the Maliasenoi, at least some of the Kabasilai, are examples of this tendency. Some remain in their cities of origin, but there is certainly a tendency for resettlement, with the city of Thessalonica as main destination. Indeed, most of the aristocratic family names that have been surveyed above, appear again in Palaiologan Thessalonica, as names of urban families of average or even distinguished status. A few Westerners become members of the Constantinopolitan court, opening the way for similar careers of their descendents; Synadenos and Sphrantzes are such cases. On the other hand, it should be noted that this pattern of defection concerns more the high aristocracy, those who had connections to the two ruling families and could aspire to a satisfying position under the new regime. The locally rooted middle aristocracy of the West, the "dynatoi" of the cities and the petty lords are not very visible in the sources until the time of the civil wars. We do not learn enough about their family names, therefore it is difficult to connect them with certainty to the local potentates of the previous century. It is highly probable, though, that the local predominance of this group continued without interruption. Their interests lay in autonomy and local authority and not with supporting the cause of either big power. The

[92]According to Pachymeres I.i, 155, the despot John Palaiologos returned from his succesful campaign against Michael II Angelos in 1259 accompanied by many "archons" from the West who had defected.

attachment of the *dynatoi* in Epiros to local independence became manifest in the next century, when they resisted the empire as it proceeded to annex Epiros itself[93].

C. Constantinople after the reconquest

Our information does not allow us to know whether there was a Greek upper class in Latin Constantinople until 1261 and, if it existed, whether it became incorporated into the aristocracy of the Palaiologan empire after the reconquest of the city in that year[94]. It seems more likely, however, that the majority of the aristocrats orbiting the court of the New Constantine arrived in the city gradually, after it became again the capital of the Byzantine Empire. Among the first to move into the newly conquered city were obviously the members of Michael VIII's court and his other close collaborators, those who accompanied him during his triumphal entry on the fifteenth of August 1261. The conditions of the resettlement of the aristocracy in the city are not very clear. Pachymeres, whose account has already been mentioned, seems to present two not easily compatible versions: First, he states that, on the prompting of the emperor himself, the great aristocrats sent their servants in the city to take possession of their ancestral residences or any others they might choose, since the city was God's gift to them, as much as to the emperor[95]. On the other hand, he says that Michael VIII declared the city to be his exclusive possession, since it was conquered by the sword, and proceeded to allot properties to the aristocracy according to personal status and office rank, through the Caesar Alexios Strategopoulos, temporary military commander of the city[96]. As

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[93]See the examples of Alexios Kabasilas in Rogo (see note 284) or Nicholas Basilitzes in Arta (PLP 2475)
[94]The father of George Akropolites resided in Latin Constantinople and, according to his son, he was a prosperous man, with very good relations with the new rulers (Akrop.I, 46). His social status may be deliberately exaggerated, but it should be kept in mind that not everyone could send his son to the court of Nicaea in order to get an education at the emperor's expenses, as did the elder Akropolites.
[95]Pach.I.i, 213:"Πεμφθήτω τις τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ λαμβανέτω τοὺς οἴκους οἷ πανοικεὶ κατοικήσει. Εἰ μὲν συμβαίνοι τοὺς πατρίους εἶναι καὶ τοὺς τοῦ γένους περιόντας ἔτι, εὖ ἂν σχήσοι· εἰ δ' οὖν, ἀλλά τις ἐκλεγέσθω τοὺς ἁρμοδίους (...) Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμῖν μόνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμῖν δίκαιον ἡγεῖσθαι τὸ θεῖον χαρίζεσθαι."
[96]Ibid.,213:"ἐκλέγεται δὲ καὶ οἷς ἂν πεμφθεῖσι τὴν κληροδότησιν ἐπιτρέψοι τῶν μεγιστάνων· τοῖς γὰρ πολλοῖς γε καὶ ἀνεβάλλετο τὸ διδόναι, καὶ πρόφασις ἐκείνῳ τό, διὰ σπάθης ἑλόντος, μηδένα εἶναι τὸν δικαίως ἂν τῶν ἰδίων, εἴ που παρεῖεν, ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀνθεξόμενον"; ibid., 215:"Ὁ καῖσάρ τε διένεμε τοὺς οἴκους τοῖς προσώποις καὶ ταῖς ἀξίαις προσηκόντως",

stated before, the first affirmation, that of the great aristocrats occupying again their family's Constantinopolitan properties, is problematic in view of the doubts that the lapse of fifty-seven years must have created in matters of ownership, inheritance and the very identification of pieces of urban property (presumably any state records that existed prior to 1204 could not be taken out of the city the moment of its fall. It is possible, but unlikely that documents concerning the property of people who no longer resided there would have been preserved during the period of Latin rule). Perhaps what happened is that, before proceeding to dispose of the majority of Constantinopolitan properties, the emperor, through Strategopoulos, granted to the few most important aristocrats residences in Constantinople, giving, where possible, to paricular individuals the mansions that were known to have belonged to their ancestors before 1204.

The emperor then proceeded to distribute the rest of the real estate properties in his city. To the *thelematarioi*, the Greeks who used to reside outside the city walls and helped his army during the reconquest, Michael VIII granted the hereditary ownership of plots of agricultural land of the best quality inside and outside the city. The rest of the cultivable land was granted, under unknown conditions, to the imperial officials. Plots that were to be built upon were distributed to various individuals against payment of *telos*. The term usually denotes the tax, or the fiscal imposition in general, although in this context it would make more sense to interpret it as "rent"[97].

The conditions under which urban properties were ceded by the emperor will not concern us in this chapter. It seems that most aristocrats held their urban possessions with full rights of transmission, since the sources present them as being bequeathed, donated, sold, etc., without any reference to restrictions. The most important problem is the issue of the permanent residence of the court aristocracy and the emperor's relatives. To begin, it is certain that most, if not all, great aristocrats had a residence and occasionally other properties in the capital. Besides officials and members of the court, for whom prolonged presence in the

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[97]Ibid., 221-223

capital must have been a practical necessity, we have cases like Theodora Palaiologina Kantakouzene, mother of the future John VI, who owned houses and other properties in the city and resided there at the moment of their confiscation in 1341[98]. On the other hand, the main bulk of Theodora's properties lay far from the capital, mainly in the area of Serrai and Strymon[99]. It is not even certain whether Constantinople was her main residence. In 1341, Kantakouzenos tells us, she *happened* to be present in Constantinople in order to console the newly widowed empress Anne of Savoy[100]; earlier, she was encountered mainly in Didymoteichon and Adrianople. The brothers Theodore and John Synadenos owned properties opposite the monastery of Our Lady of Good Hope (*Bebaia Elpis*), founded by their mother, by the south shore of the city. In all probability the whole area came to them from their maternal grandfather, the Sebastocrator Constantine Palaiologos, brother of Michael VIII, since right adjacent to *Bebaia Elpis* was a monastery founded by Constantine's other daughter, Glabaina[101]. The Despot John Asan resided in the city with his retinue in the 1280s and, in the absence of the emperor, he had the power to disregard the law and the city authorities[102]. Raoul the Fat, a nobleman without any office or function that we know of, who married his daughter to the Catalan Ferran de Ahones, owned a palace in the city which was pillaged by the mob in 1305[103]. Syrgiannes, at the time of his disgrace, owned an *oikos* as well as vineyards and pieces of land for building inside the city[104]. The porphyrogennetos Constantine had his own palace next to the imperial palace of Blachernae; it may be the still standing structure known as Tekfur Sarayi[105]. At a lower level, Manuel Angelos, a former

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[98]Kantak.II, 137; Greg.II, 609

[99]Kutlumus18, 85-87; Regel, *Χρυσόβουλλα καὶ γράμματα τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Βατοπεδίου*, 16; Goudas, "Βυζαντιακὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς ἐν Ἄθῳ Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τοῦ Βατοπεδίου" in *EEBS* 4(1927), 247; V. Kravari, "Nouveaux documents du monastère de Philothéou", *TM* 10(1987)(hereafter Kravari, *Philothéou)*, 307; L. Mavrommatis, "Note sur la grande propriété en Macédoine 1337/1338", *Byzantion* 57(1987) (hereafter Mavrommatis, "Note"), passim.

[100]Kantak.II, 105:"ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τότε παραμυθίας ἕνεκα τῆς βασιλίδος οὔσῃ"

[101]Delehaye, *Deux typica*, 95

[102]Greg. Cyp.Ep., letter no. 132; for the identification of the Despot, see P.Magdalino, "Notes on the Last Years of John Palaiologos, Brother of Michael VIII", *REB* 34(1976), 143-149

[103]Pach.II, 532

[104]Greg.I, 363-364

[105]Kantak.I, 305; *ODB* s.v. "Tekfur Sarayi"

official of John III, who was no longer a member of the court, had moved from Asia Minor and resided in Constantinople around 1300[106]. We may generalize that even those aristocrats who did not move into the new capital in 1261, must have been pressured by the Turkish advance to leave Asia Minor and head, among other places, to Constantinople. On the other hand, when it comes to the most important aristocrats, we cannot say with certainty whether Constantinople was their main residence and center of activity or whether they just maintained a foothold in the capital while being rooted in the Western provinces. Financial activities in Constantinople, such as investing in real estate, may be an indication of local residence in the case of lesser aristocrats, but not necessarily for the great ones, whose financial activities could have stretched over a large part of the empire. There are some known cases of aristocrats who owned pieces of urban real estate other than their main residence. Around 1300, Maria Palaiologina, a natural daughter of Michael VIII, bought various buildings, orchards, vineyards, a church and a bathhouse, all situated in the neighborhood of Phanarion, from Maria Akropolitissa , her daughter and her son-in-law[107]. An official by the name of Kynamus (Kinnamos) had two vineyards within the Genoese colony of Galata in 1303[108]. A certain Nikephoros Archon gave to his daughter a considerable dowry consisting of houses and fields, sometime around 1300[109]. John Palaiologos Branas donated to the monastery founded by his aunt (Bebaia Elpis) vineyards in Kosmidion and a building in the neighbourhood of Kalligaria[110]. The Grand Drongarios John Philanthropenos bought an estate near Hexamilion, outside the city, and invested in improving and cultivating the land, planting a vineyard and building water-mills[111]. Theophylaktos Palaiologos had sold before 1342 four houses inside the city[112]. Already before 1341 Alexios Apokaukos' properties included houses by the sea, next to the city walls, not to mention his fortified strongholds in

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[106]Pach.II, 296
[107]MM I, 312 ff
[108]Belgrano, "Prima serie di document riguardanti la colonia di Pera", 103
[109]Patr.Reg.II 173, 506 ff.
[110]Delehaye, *Deux typica*, 84, 93
[111]Patr.Reg.I 93, 528-530
[112]Lavra III 123, 25

the broader area of the city, including the fortress of Epibatai and towers on the island of Prinkepos[113]. As we see, there is little doubt that for the aristocracy of the empire Constantinople was more than an occasional residence. Important aristocrats were interested in acquiring and expanding their properties inside and around the city. Still, this could be a form of investment in the securest area of the empire and not an indication that would allow us to speak with certainty of a "Constantinopolitan" aristocracy.

A rather more secure indication of the high aristocracy's sense of geographical belonging may be found in their policy of monastic foundations. Indeed, it is noteworthy that after 1261 several monasteries inside and around the city are founded -in most cases we may have to do with the restoration of older monasteries- by aristocrats. Since these foundations had a mostly funerary-sepulchral character and since it is only natural that one would choose as the place of one's entombment and commemoration the location that one considers to be one's particular "home" and geographical seat, we may presume that the "ktetores" of Constantinopolitan monasteries considered the capital to be their home city. Indeed, several aristocrats followed the example set by the imperial family (Theodora, widow of Michael VIII, renovated the monastery of Lips as a mausoleum for her immediate family[114]) and founded monasteries where they intended to end their lives and be interred: Theodora, widow of John Synadenos, founded the monastery of Our Lady of Good Hope[115]; the *protostrator* Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes, the monastery of Pammakaristos[116]; Nikephoros Choumnos founded the monastery of the Gorgoepekoos, although he did not retire there but in his daughter's foundation of Christ the *Philanthropos Soter*[117]. Theodore Metochites founded the monastery of the Saviour in Chora, whereas Constantine Akropolites founded

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[113]Kantak.II, 71, 541; Greg. II, 585

[114]Delehaye, *Deux Typica*, 106ff. Various other immediate relatives of Michael VIII founded monasteries, such as his sister Martha Tarchaneiotissa, whose foundation was known as "tes kyra Marthas", and Theodora Rhaoulaina, daughter of Michael's other sister, Eulogia, who founded the monastery of St. Andrew *en krisei* (see PLP 10943 and 21389).

[115]Delehaye, *Deux Typica*, 18 ff.

[116]H.Belting, C.Mango, D.Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St.Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul*. Washington DC 1978

[117]J.Verpeaux, *Nicèphore Choumnos, homme d' état et humaniste byzantin (ca.1250/1255-1327)*, Paris 1959, 62

that of the Ressurection[118]. Maria Palaiologina, the "lady of the Mongols", founded the monastery of Panagiotissa[119] and the *protobestiarissa* Rhaoulaina that of St Andrew En Krisei. Alongside those great aristocrats, most of whom were the emperor's relatives, we find foundations of other officials, such as Phokas Maroules, Domestic of the Table, who founded, before 1327, a nunnery around the buildings he owned close to the gate of St. Romanos[120]. His intention was to provide a retiring place for his wife and daughters, but after his death his son converted the foundation to a men's monastery, with the implicit intention to exploit part of its endowment. The synodal decision that transmits the case contains a warning against those who viewed the foundation of monasteries as investment, something that is also a note of caution for our interpretation of the practice[121]. In any case, should we accept the conclusion that a monastic foundation of a sepulchral character is a good indication of the local *enracinement* of the founder, this conclusion should not be automatically expanded to the founder's relatives: as will be seen later, those foundations should not be seen as family shrines[122].

Another peculiarity of Constantinople is the scarcity of information about that middle-upper urban class in which many court officials and title holders had their roots. The contrast is sharpest with Thessalonica, where there is ample information about well-established urban families, whose members are oriented towards the offices of Church and state. In Constantinople we have occasional information for families like the Strongyloi, three brothers and a sister: only one of the brothers bore a title of distinction -he was *protohierakarios*- but their parents were property owners, since the girl's dowry consisted in a vineyard outside the city and several houses inside[123]. Nikephoros Archon owned considerable properties around 1300 and his children and grandchildren are attested as late as 1348[124]. We do not know of

[118]Patr.Reg.I **73**, 432
[119]MM I, 312ff.
[120]Patr.Reg.II **135**. 274ff.
[121]Ibid., 282-284, quoting the Council of 861
[122]See the discussion in Ch.IV, pp.237ff.
[123]Patr.Reg.II **150**, 392-398
[124]Patr.Reg.II **173**, 506-510

any aristocratic members of that family, but Archon's daughter married the *protokynegos* Halyates. The family of Phokas Maroules, mentioned above, could be added here. Whether they are distinct from the well known Thessalonian family of the same name, or whether a branch of that family was transplanted in the capital, we cannot say with certainty. Apart from these, there is scarcely any information about a Constantinopolitan urban patriciate, at least before the middle of the fourteenth century. The reasons may lie in the nature of our sources, or in real adverse historical circumstances, namely the dominance in the economic life of the capital of the high imperial aristocracy and the Italian colonies, that left little room for the development of that middle class.

D.The European provinces after the reconquest

Thrace[125]

Our information about Thrace is only occasional and comes mostly from non-documentary sources. Its nature, however, is only partly accountable for the broad image that we can form about this area: Thrace appears to be dominated by the aristocracy of the court, particularly by the highest officials. The great aristocrats appear not only as rural landowners and urban proprietors in the Thracian cities, but also as firmly rooted residents of the area,

125For the Western part see C.Asdracha, *La région des Rhodopes aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles: étude de géographie historique*, Athens 1976 (hereafter Asdracha, *Rhodopes*), especially 93-179, 211-212; for the geography, P.Soustal, *Thrakien*, Vienna 1991 (=*Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 6)

together with their families and dependents, while their power sometimes transcended the economic level and approached that of unofficial political control over whole areas. In most of the cases we may have to do with properties originally acquired through imperial grants sometime after the reconquest of Thrace. As was usually the case, the emperors would grant to their relatives and highest officials properties consisting of parcels scattered around various areas. In some cases, however, it appears that powerful aristocrats developed a long term strategy of *enracinement* and power buildup in the provinces and were able to direct the "random" imperial grants in the areas where their interests lay. As we will see, Theodore Synadenos or John Batatzes may be such cases.

We have occasional information about high-ranking aristocrats or imperial relatives who had properties in Thrace and/or indications of long-term physical presence. One example of an imperial relative who had simply a collection of scattered properties, obviously from imperial grants, without any indication of residence or other activity in the area, is that of Maria Palaiologina, the "empress of the Mongols", who endowed her Constantinopolitan monastic foundation with properties that she owned in the areas of Mauropotamos, Rhaidestos and Medeia.

The *protostrator* Theodore Synadenos had a much more elaborate network of power in Thrace. Unlike other aristocratic landowners, Synadenos' presence in Thrace does not seem to be connected with his activity as military or civilian commander, since all his appointments that we know about were away from that area, with the exception of a brief period during the civil war of 1327[126]. Any family roots he might have had, could not go too far back on his father's side, since John Synadenos arrived in the empire in 1276. There is, however, the possibility that his maternal grandfather, the *Sebastokrator* Constantine Palaiologos had properties in Xantheia and Peritheorion, inherited by his two daughters, including Theodora, Theodore's mother[127]. Theodore also owned residences in Adrianople,

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[126]Kantak.I, 259

[127]This supposition is partly based on a very insecure interpretation on my part: in a document of 1308, published by Arkadios Vatopedinos, "῾Αγιορειτικὰ ἀνάλεκτα", *Gregorios ho Palamas* 3(1919) 438-439, an aristocratic woman donated properties to the monastery of Batopedi. Arkadios read her signature as Θεοδώρα

where his wife and daughters were residing in 1321, and in Bizye[128]. In the latter city he owned further extensive properties, while his *oikeioi* held control of the town. He also owned properties in the area of Parapolia, including half the income from the village of Ainos, equal to 200 hyperpyra, which he donated to his mother's foundation of Bebaia Elpis[129].

The *protokynegos* John Batatzes was another aristocrat with a solid base in Thrace. In his case it seems that it was built up during his long and successful career as *apographeus* there[130]. During the civil war, when he changed sides several times, his relatives were dispersed in various Thracian towns, including Polyboton, which they controlled. To secure his power, Batatzes restored and kept under control the mighty fortress of Teristasis. Profiting from the civil war, he started acting as an independent toparch, even contracting a marriage alliance with Suleyman, emir of Karasi. The connection with Karasi may not be unrelated to the fact that in 1341, when he deserted Kantakouzenos, Batatzes was commanding a body of soldiers from Achyraus, a Mysian city which had been conquered by that emirate a few years before. If Batatzes, who spoke Turkish, originated from Asia Minor, than the imposition of his control in Thrace becomes even more fascinating, since it shows us how a refugee aristocrat could use his command of a body of soldiers to gain importance in the court and, subsequently, new properties in Europe[131].

We also have other cases where command and property ownership were combined. The *sebastokrator* John Asan, governor of Peritheorion, held, by imperial grant, villas and fields near Traianopolis, while he acquired, through marriage, the fortress of Epibatai, once

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Κομνηνὴ Συναχηρήνα, but, given the bad quality of his readings (he was unable to read any of the other signatures in this document), I suspect the last name might be Συναδηνὴ or Συναδηνὴ Παλαιολογίνα. In that case she would be identical to Theodore's mother, the foundress -later- of *Bebaia Elpis*. The dates would fit, as well as the fact that, like Synadene, the Theodora of this document shares her paternal inheritence with a sister called Glabaina (ibid, 429; see Delehaye, *Deux typica*, 95). Of course the upcoming new edition of the documents of Batopedi will solve the issue. Theodora Syandene owned other extensive properties in Thrace, including part of the village of Ainos and a *chorion* near Herakleia.

[128]Kantak.I, 39, 125; II, 491

[129]Delehaye, *Deux typica*, 83

[130]Lappa-Zizicas, "Un chrysobulle inédit en faveur du monastère des Saints Anargyres de Kosmidion", 267-268.

[131]Kantak.II, 180, 475ff, 552ff; Greg.II, 741-743; see also F.Barišić, "Jovan Vatac, protokinig", *Zbornik Filoz.Fak.* XI.1(1970), 283-287; Asdracha, *Rhodopes*, 207

the powerhold of Alexios Apokaukos[132]. George Bryennios, later Grand Drongarios, was in1322 commander of Stenimachos and Tzepaina and captured Philippopolis. Almost two decades later, the family and *oikeioi* of another Bryennios, Michael, resided in Didymoteichon while Michael himself was governor of Pamphylon; a relation between the two is likely[133].

Other aristocrats connected with Thrace include John Angelos, Praetor, who had properties, including fields and vineyards, in Rhaidestos[134]. Maria Aspietissa Choumnaina, wife of a Grand Papias, either resided or had connections in Didymoteichon, since she lent jewelry to the metropolitan clergy of that city in 1324[135]. The dowry given by Euphrosyne Petraliphina to her daughter in 1329 included houses inside Adrianople[136]. The imperial *oikeios* Theodore Padyates owned a *ktema* at Bera[137]. His son resided there, at least temporarily, once his possession of that contested property was confirmed. Even John Kantakouzenos himself before 1321 used to reside most of the time in Gallipoli[138].

Mentions of a local petty aristocracy of the Thracian cities are few and vague. During the civil war of 1341-47 we hear of the *dynatoi* who were arrested because the people suspected them of supporting Kantakouzenos[139]. But we do not have any names or other specific information that would allow us to identify that group with precision. The reason for the lack of references to the local aristocracy are not clear. Perhaps they were absorbed into the service of the great lords as their *oikeioi*. This does not exclude the possibility that they maintained real power at the local level: in 1355 Limpidarios[140], an *oiketes* of the despot Nikephoros Orsini, governor (*kephale*) of Ainos deserted his lord during a campaign in

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132Gregoras II, 797; Kantak.III, 314
133Kantak.I, 176; II 343
134Lappa-Zizicas, "Un chrysobulle inédit en faveur du monastère des Saints Anargyres de Kosmidion", 267
135Patr.Reg.I **75**, 440
136Ibid.**102**, 582
137Ibid.**101**, 570ff
138Kantak.I, 24
139Kantak.II, 179; Greg.II, 620 mentions that group as προύχοντες
140That name had belonged to a petty aristocrat from Asia Minor who was involved in a conspiracy against Andronikos II in 1307 in Thessalonica. On that person, whose identity with a Libadarios I would doubt, see Ch.V, n.1109. The fact that the earlier Limpidaris was from Asia Minor may indicate that the distant origins of the Limpidarios of Ainos also lay in the Orient.

Thessaly, returned to Ainos and chasing the despot's wife and *oikeioi* established an autonomous hegemony there with the support of the local populace and a group of *gasmouloi* (fighting men of the war fleet)[141].

Eastern Macedonia[142]

The fertile valley of the Strymon river, together with the adjacent areas of Christoupolis and Voleron-Mosynopolis, is amply covered by our documentation. The resources of the land are exploited almost exclusively by aristocrats, together with ecclesiastical and monastic institutions. We distinguish three categories among them: those great aristocrats who have properties in the area without being more firmly settled there, then members of aristocratic families who settle in the cities of the area, close to their properties, and finally aristocrats with roots among the families of the local cities. The importance of the latter varies. Some of them are high officials, whose power and properties extend all over the area and beyond, while others are no more than local *dynatoi*, whose power is restricted in their native cities. Even among the latter, however, it seems that there was a network of family connections encompassing the major cities of the area; the local aristocracy of Strumitza, Melnik and Serrai, for example, seems to consist of families whose members are scattered in all three cities.

Several great aristocrats of the Palaiologan empire are attested as property-owners in the theme of Strymon: Constantine Komnenos Laskaris had 600 modioi of land until 1294[143]. There may be a connection with a family of great landowners of the same name, in the areas of Strymon, Serrai and Strumitza during the latter half of the fourteenth century[144], but, since the name Laskaris was very common among the Palaiologan aristocracy, we cannot

[141]Kantak.III, 316; it is not clear whether Limpidarios originated from Ainos, this however would explain best his ability to rally the population to his rebellion.
[142]See P.Lemerle, *Philippes et la Macédoine orientale à l' époque Chrétienne et byzantine. Recherches d' histoire et archéologie*, Paris 1945, especially 169-241
[143]Dölger, *Schatzkammer*, 37-38
[144]PLP nos.14494, 14496, 14497, 14512, 14513, 14527, 14529, 14539, 14543,14544

be certain. Michael Senachereim Monomachos had vast properties there , and also in Zichna, until 1342[145](a Monomachos family, probably unrelated, existed in Serrai already in 1322[146]). Theodora Palaiologina, wife of Syrgiannes, sold in 1325 a property for 3,000 hyp.[147]. The *protokynegos* Sarantenos Indanes owned cultivated land, ca. 1300[148]. The *sebastos* John Tzymiskes had properties there in 1322[149]. Basileios Metretopoulos and Michael Banas Palaiologos had properties around Strymon as well[150]. A special mention should be made of the *logariastes* of the court Kasandrenos who had, until 1319, a *zeugelateion* in the area. He may be identical with the Thessalonian supporter of Andronikos III who rebelled and was outlawed in 1324. In 1333 a document mentions the *dynasteia*, the arbitrary authority, by which Kasandrenos, still an outlaw, had dominated the area of Strymon[151].

The city of Zichna and its area was also marked by the heavy presence of the aristocratic landowners. Theodore Synadenos owned lands and paroikoi there, including the villages of Kremna and Ezova[152]. John Choumnos was given various properties in the Zichna area by chrysobull, but he also invested in expanding them through purchases[153]. An Irene Choumnaina Palaiologina was the owner of the village of Tholos in 1355[154]. An

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[145]Zogr.**XXIX** 68, 71; **XXXI**, 73; Chil. **157**, 333-4; Lemerle, "Praktikon de Karakala", 282
[146]Chil.**83**, 177
[147]Zogr. **XXII**, 49: the property could be from her dowry or her husband's, who was in jail at that time. Of course there is a chance that the *megale doukaina* was not the wife of Syrgiannes but the widow of some former Grand Duke.
[148]Zogr. **XXVIII**, 64-67
[149]Chil. **76**, 167
[150]Chil. **13**, 34; **60**, 142; **61**, 144; **70**, 159; **71**, 161
[151]Chil. **41**, 107ff (for the logariastes); Zogr. **XXIX**, 71 (for the outlaw) and PLP 11313 for references to both. A further argument for the identification is that Michael Gabras, or a copyist, erased the name of the logariastes from his collection of letters (Gabras Ep., 240). That may be a sign that the presence of his name could be compromising for the author. This would certainly be the case if he was an outlaw by the time the letters were copied.
[152]Chil.**123**,257; Kutlumus **14**, 69-70; Philothée **IX**, 26
[153]Philothée, **VIII** 22ff=Dölger, *Schatzkammer*, 42-43
[154]Guillou, *Ménécée* **46**, 144. The PLP is probably wrong in identifying her with the *basilissa* Eulogia Palaiologina (No 30936). Although her lay name was Irene, she had been a nun with the name Eulogia since her husband's death in 1305 and the use of the former name is hard to explain. I think it unlikely that any imperial document would refer to her without her title of *basilissa*. There are no grounds for making of Eulogia an "aunt" of Stephen Dusan, but since the document is undated and unsigned this does not provide any decisive evidence (the emperor might be John V, whose aunt she was in a certain way). However, the list of lost documents of Prodromos includes acts by the Irene Choumnaina of this document dating from 1355/6

offshoot of the Rhaoul family was settled in Zichna and owned property there: it is represented by Alexios Rhaoul, who also was governor of the city under Dusan, and by a Rhalaina, owner of a *zeugelateion*[155]. John Doukas Masgidas owned lands in Zabaltia from dowry, while in Zichna he had the village Dragosta, a *zeugelateion* and urban houses[156]. Maurophoros, an official, had properties in Zichna and further south, in Chrysoupolis, through imperial grants, inheritance and purchase[157]. Other aristocratic landowners near Zichna include Constantine Achyraites, inhabitant of the city, Alexios Palaiologos, who also seems to have resided there, Preakotzelos, Nikephoros Basilikos (whose presence may not be unconnected with his military command in Melnik in 1328), Mesopotamites, John Margarites, Arsenios Tzamplakon, Alexios Diplobatatzes[158].

Among the great landowners around the city of Serrai[159] most noteworthy are the Kantakouzenoi, the usurper John and his mother Theodora, who owned extensive properties of various kinds both in the countryside and inside the city[160]. Theodore Metochites also had land in the area before his disgrace in 1329[161]. Other landowners in the area included Nikephoros Martinos (attested1317-1325), George Troullenos (1312-1326), Theodosios Melissenos (1321), who founded a monastery, and Constantine-Kosmas Pankalos (1305-1313), who owned properties inside and around the city through imperial grants and purchases[162]. A special mention should be made of the aristocrats residing in the city, apart

(Guillou, *Ménécée,* 143). Eulogia, on the other hand, died while Gregoras was still under home arrest, before John V's victory in 1354: Greg.III, 238

[155]Guillou, *Ménécée* **25**, 90; Kravari, *Philothéou*, 301, 313ff. Note that although the heirs of Rhalaina lost their property during the Serbian invasion, Alexios managed to achieve prominence in the new regime and became Grand Domestic.

[156]Pantél.**11**, 99; Kravari, *Philothéou*, 306, 308; see also PLP 17219 and 17221 for possible relatives.

[157]Goudas, *op.cit.*, 220, 240

[158]See references in PLP, respectively nos. 1720, 21424, 23694, 2470, 17954, 16850, 27752, 5510 (correct date: 1322 instead of 1307; in Guillou, *Ménécée* **2**, 41, Diplobatatzes had a higer, not lower office than in *DVL* I, 83 (1310), when he was simple, not Grand, *hetaireiarches*. Therefore the document's sixth indiction should be after, not before 1310.

[159]For Serrai see B.Ferjančić, *Vizantijski i Srpski Ser u XIV stolecu*, Belgrade 1994 (with English summary). G.Ostrogorsky, *Serska oblast posle Dusanove smrti*, Belgrade, 1965 (with French summary) and "Les juges généraux de Serrès" deal with a later period than this survey.

[160]Kantak.II, 184-185; Kutlumus **18**, 86-87; Kravari, *Philothéou*, 307; Mavrommatis, "Note sur la grande propriété en Macédoine"; Lemerle, "Praktikon de Karakala", 285

[161]Guillou, *Ménécée* **24**, 88

[162]PLP nos 17201, 17815, 21264, 29363

from the governors: George Glabas (1301), Manuel Asan (1345), Doukas Nestongos (1360), all indicate the tendency of members of important families to settle down in cities of the periphery, probably close to where they had properties[163]. On the other hand, there is no certainty about the identification of the ἀρχοντόπουλοι of Serrai who claim some paroikoi outside the city in 1348[164]. Although the term, meaning little lord, is attested elsewhere in Byzantine sources[165], I suspect that in this case it refers to a Serbian institution, a category below the *archontes*[166]. The same is possibly the case with the ἀρχοντόπουλοι of Zichna, to whom Stephen Dusan had granted an estate in 1347, or shortly before[167].

The most important family of Christoupolis were undoubtedly the Tzamplakones[168]. The story of their rise through military offices has already been mentioned. Among the early Tzamplakones, the *tatas tes aules* of 1272 was from Christoupolis[169]. A few decades before that, the Tzamplakon who was Domestic of the Scholae under John Batatzes had been given a large estate (Prinarion) in the area, that would remain in his descendant's possession for more than a century[170]. We cannot say whether Tzamplakon's family was already installed in Christoupolis and received a grant close to its residence, or whether the Tzamplakones moved into the area from elsewhere, e.g. Asia Minor, following the acquisition of property in Eastern Macedonia. The expansion of the family's fortunes in other parts of Eastern

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[163]PLP nos 4220, 1505, 20198. That the Asan had properties around Serrai is shown by the existence of the name among peasants in the area: see PLP 1474-1478, 1483. Hunger, "Anti-Mafia Pamphlet",96, mentions "Asan the Bubble from Pherai (Serrai)", probably one of the sons of John Asan.

[164]Kutlumus **21**, 92; see also Solovjev-Mosin, *Povelje*, 68, 180.

[165]E.g. Lavra II **106**. Note that we have to do with an individual *archontopoulos* and not a social group.

[166]The corresponding term in the Serbian charters is *vlasteličići*: Maksimovič, *Provincial Administration*, 18 and n.22. Apparently Maksimovič does not consider the term to be a transposition of a Serbian reality in Byzantium. It is noticeable, however, that all documentary references to *archontopouloi* as a group occur after the Serbian occupation and in areas (Serrai, Zichna) that had been or still were under Serbian rule.An exception is the expression used by Kantakouzenos (I, 236):"πάντες γὰρ οἱ μετὰ τοῦ ἐγγόνου του βασιλέως εὑρισκόμενοι ἄρχοντες καὶ τὰ ἀρχοντόπουλα...". In that passage Kantakouzenos is referring to an official settlement and is likely to borrow a term from the language of documents of his time (1360s-1370s) rather than echo a reality of 1327. It appears likely that the official or semi-official distinction introduced by Stephen Dušan was maintained by the Byzantines and perhaps extended even to the parts of the empire that had not been under Serbian rule.

[167]Kravari, *Philothéou*, 308

[168]On them see the exhaustive study of Theocharides, "Tzamplakones", 153-183. I repeat, however, that I am not following Theocharides' identification of Alexios with Antonios rather than Arsenios, which is based on a confused mention by Kantakouzenos. See above, n. 131

[169]Pach.Iii, 413

[170]Theocharides, "Tzamplakones", 154-155

Macedonia is to be connected with the famous Alexios-Arsenios Tzamplakon, who combined various governorships with tax-collecting activities in the area. Already in 1326 as Grand Tzaousios, he became *kephale* of Serrai and "the castles and land of Popolia", exercising at the same time the function of the representative of the fisc (δημοσιακὴ δουλεία καὶ ἐνοχή). One year later he was in his home city of Christoupolis, where he was instrumental in persuading the inhabitants to hand the city over to Andronikos III. His properties and governorships from that moment extended beyond the area and he himself settled in Thessalonica[171]. He still had vast properties around Zichna and Serrai, until their confiscation in 1342. At least one of his brothers, the *Megas Stratopedarches* Demetrios Tzamplakon resided in Serrai in 1346[172]. In the anonymous fourteenth-century "anti-Mafia pamphlet" published by H.Hunger, there is an ironic refrence to an "Ethiopian Tzamplakon from Drama"[173]. It is not clear whether this refers to permanent residence or to a governorship and the date could be anytime between ca. 1330-ca. 1341; yet this is an evidence of the spreading of the influence of the Tzamplakones to a city neighbouring Christoupolis.

Another aristocrat connected with Drama is the *prokathemenos* (an office usually given to locals[174]) Leo Kalognomos, a well known fiscal official[175]. A noblewoman, Eudokia Nestongonissa had properties in the dioceses of Drama and Philippoi (Christoupolis?) but does not seem to have resided there[176].

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[171]At least he had large urban properties there until 1342, when Alexios Apokaukos gave them to the Serbian shepherd Tzimpanos (Kantak.II, 256). These included a large mansion with a chapel, that subsequently fell in ruins, probably during the civil war and the Zealot revolt. Afterwards Arsenios did not return to Thessalonica. His former house there he gave to Vatopedi, where he retired, but all that the monks were able to do with it was to strip it of its precious woodwork and abandon the rest, at least until 1373 (Alexandros Vatopaidinos , "Ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχείου τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ σεβασμίας μεγίστης Μονῆς τοῦ Βατοπαιδίου", *Gregorios ho Palamas* 4 (1920), p. 631)

[172]For the activities and properties of Alexios/Arsenios, see Guillou, *Ménécée* **19**, 75, 76; **20**, 78; Kravari, *Philothéou*, 290; Alexandros Vatopaidinos, *op.cit.*, 631; Lemerle, "Praktikon de Karakala", 281ff.

[173]H. Hunger, "Anonymes Pamphlet gegen eine byzantinische 'Mafia'", *Byzantinistische Grundlagenforschung*, London 1973, XXII, p.96

[174]See the names of known *prokathemenoi* in Maksimović, *Provincial Administration*, 169-172. There origins are not known in all cases, but when we have information, we see that they originated from the cities that they administered, e.g. Kaloeidas and Alopos in Smyrna, Kampanos and Spartenos in Thessalonica.

[175]PLP 10529

[176]Patr.Reg.I 14, 188-190

At the north of the area, in the city of Melnik (Melenikon), the presence of the high aristocracy is less well attested. On the other hand we have more information about the local aristocrats. These included Bulgarian notables who made their peace with the Byzantines after the conquest. Such a case was Dragotas, native of Melnik but commander of Serrai. In 1246 he surrenderred Serrai to John III and was rewarded with money and a gold/purple cloak, probably as a mark of some office. Then, Dragotas returned to Melnik and exercised his influence in order to persuade the inhabitants to deliver the city to the Byzantines. Until his revolt and death in 1255 he commanded a body of soldiers from Melnik[177]. The commander of the city at the time of the Byzantine conquest was a certain Nicholas Litoboes. His family must have maintained some importance afterwards: in 1323 there was still a landowner by that name in Melnik. The name was also attested earlier, around 1220, borne by two brothers, George and Milan, vassals of Theodore Angelos Doukas, whose ancestral inheritence was in the area of Skopje[178]. The notables of Melnik at the moment of the Byzantine conquest included some Greeks, such as Nicholas Manklabites, originary of Philippopolis, who later joined the imperial court[179]. In all the above cases one notes the mobility of this social group not only within the cities of the Strymon valley, but also in the cities of adjacent areas. Another example is the family of Tetragonites, represented by a *sebastos*, soldier and landowner in Strumitza in 1286 and another *sebastos* in Melnik in 1355[180]. Under the Palaiologoi, one major aristocrat who demonstrated a particular interest in the area was Theodore Metochites. We do not know of any properties of his north of Serrai, but in 1326 he had appointed his two sons in the governorships of Melnik and Strumitza, indicating his interest in the region[181]. George Kalameas Kontostephanos had bought land near Melnik before 1309, invested in improvements and built a church on it. He also owned buildings,

[177] Akrop.I, 74, 75, 114, 115, 117
[178] Ibid.,76; See also Chom. 261 and PLP 14979
[179] Akrop.I, 76, 93
[180] Chil. **144**, 304; Iviron III **64**, 120-122; **72**, 186; **77**, 243ff
[181] Kantak.I, 209-210; that interest may not be unconnected with political events at the time: see ch.V, pp.342ff.

including a church, inside the city[182]. A Tarchaneiotes came from Melnik before 1315, but he seems too unimportant to be connected with the homonymous family of high aristocrats of the time[183]. Other presences in Melnik include the *sebastos* John Orestes, who owned houses, land and "people" inside the city in 1323[184]. The name is also borne later by a judge in Serrai under Serbian rule. Related to Orestes was the family of Palates in Melnik. It included a page (*paidopoulos*) of the emperor and a *sebastos*, who had properties by imperial land and purchase[185].

Chalkidike

Due to its close proximity to the Athonite peninsula Chalkidike was interspersed with the possessions of the monasteries of the Holy Mountain. For that reason it is a very well documented area of the empire. The documentation, however, concerns almost exclusively rural property and tells us very little about the origins or the residence of the landowners. In fact, few must have resided in the area. Chalkidike was essentially the agricultural hinterland of Thessalonica and it is reasonable to assume -indeed, in many cases we can be certain- that most landowners resided in that city. It is perhaps remarkable that the great aristocracy of the empire is relatively under-represented in Chalkidike: the *protosebastos* Alexios Metochites, son of Theodore, had an impressive piece of land (13,000 modioi) in Kassandra, which he had inherited from his mother (probably a Laskarina, since Alexios and his brothers also bore the name of Laskaris)[186]. A Grand Stratopedarch, who may be Manuel Tagaris, originary of distant Philadelpheia, also owned land in Kassandra in 1333[187]. A certain Constantine Palaiologos owned land in Akros (Hierissos), but he cannot be certainly identified with any

[182]Iviron III 71, 178-179
[183]Patr.Reg.I 11, 176
[184]Goudas,"Βυζαντιακὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς ἐν Ἄθῳ Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τοῦ Βατοπεδίου",*EEBS* 4, 226ff; also PLP 21097
[185]Patr.Reg.I 11, 176-178; Goudas, *op.cit.*, 226
[186]Regel, *Χρυσόβουλλα καὶ γράμματα τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Βατοπεδίου*, Petersburg 1898 (hereafter Regel, *Batopediou)*, 27ff
[187]Xénoph.22, 172-172

of his illustrious contemporary namesakes[188]. A Thessalonian by the name of Demetrios Asan had a hereditary estate in Hermeleia. Since the Asanai were not a very old family in Byzantium, he must have been closely related to the known aristocrats, but he himself was not particularly wealthy or distinguished[189]. Some other important names appear around the area of Hermeleia: before 1321, Constantine Palaiologos, nephew of Andronikos II, had an *oikonomia* there, while most of Lavra's fields in the area came from a certain Doukaina Glabaina[190]. In 1280-81, the income from Hermeleia was part of the vast *oikonomia* of the *protobestiarites* Syr Demetrios Mourinos[191]. In 1344 part of Hermeleia belonged to Markos Syrmourinos Glabas, who had inherited it from his mother: as his names show, his mother -and daughter of Demetrios- was probably the above mentioned Doukaina Glabaina.

The above cases represent only a small percentage of the landowners in Chalkidike. Most of the rest are individuals with no direct connection to the imperial family and the other great aristocrats. These individuals include low-ranking officials, *sebastoi* and, especially, pronoia-holding soldiers, whether they are called *stratiotai* in the sources or not. Some bore names that may indicate origins in Western Greece, although by that time they are obviously settled within the empire:Plytos, Glabas[192]. Others were known as officials of the fisc, such as Alexios Amnon, who owned paroikoi and lands, while other bearers of the same name are also attested in the area[193]. The *megas adnoumiastes* John Angelos had land in Apidea[194]. Most of the landowners in Chalkidike either were known Thessalonians or bore the names of families from that city. Among them the *sebastos* Demetrios Spartenos, to whom the emperor

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188 Xérop. **22**, 176
189 Ibid.**26**, 193-196; **29**, 212
190 Lavra II **108**, 205-206(Glabaina); **111**, 282 (Constantine)
191 Doch. **9**, 107-109. See note, ibid.,105: the document lists properties in Paphlagonia and the theme of Optimaton, that must have been at least threatened at the time, as well as more secure properties in Chalkidike and the area of Thessalonica.The geographical center of his properties and activity appear to have moved gradually before 1280 from Asia Minor to Macedonia.
192 Demetrios Plytos, PLP23395, had 900 modioi of land and two "stasia" by imperial ordination (Xénoph.158, 167); Glabas, PLP 4213, had a pronoia near Loroton (Lavra II, 84, 191).
193 PLP 793, esp. Esph **10**.79-80; Zogr.**XII**, 32. Alexios' property was in the area of Hierissos, where he had been *apographeus* bef, 1283
194 Chil. **32**, 76=Dölger, *Schatzkammer*, 41. Another Angelos, Theodore, had donated in 1300 200 modioi to Xenophontos, but in a different area (Xénoph.**3**, 82)

granted Loziki with full rights[195], various members of the Pharmakes family, whose possessions extended over several places[196], and the two Margaritai, John and George, to whom were given various confiscated properties of Kantakouzenists in 1342[197].

Thessalonica was also the home of the many soldiers among the area's landowners, or at least the place where their families are attested. Manuel Adrianos, imperial stratiotes, had a pronoia in Hermeleia in 1321-25[198]. Euthymios Kardames and Demetrios Isauros, from the "Grand Allagion of Thessalonica", held together 900 modioi of land in Chartophylax before 1322-23[199]. Isauros also had land in Akros. Another Isauros, John, had a pronoia consisting of lands and paroikoi in various places, including Longos[200]. Various properties in Chalkidike are ascribed to the name "Anataulas". In at least one case, and possibly in all of them, we have to do with an *hetaireiarches*[201]. Several members of the Doukopoulos family also had properties in the area: the *sebastos* Peter, commander of the garrison of Thessalonica, had as pronoia the village of Daphne in 1292. He also received fiscal income from somewhere in Kalamarea and had land in Hermeleia (1321-23)[202]. In the latter case we may have to do with hereditary land, since another Doukopoulos, of unknown first name, had paroikoi γονικόθεν in the same area in 1311[203]. The *kastrophylax* Demetrios

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[195]Chil.**6**, 15; for the family, see M. Živojnović, "Spartini. Prilog prosopografiji", *ZRVI* 27-28(1984), 177-184.

[196]The *sebastos* Pharmakes (PLP 29643) had an estate through a chrysobull, with full rights of transmission (Lavra II, 138); George Parmakes (PLP29644) had been given public properties in Plagena and Therma bef. 1347, but after his death they were granted to others (Dionys.**2**,46); Demetrios Pharmakes (PLP29645) had paroikoi in Epano Antigoneia who were confiscated in 1342 (Kravari, *Philothéou*, 297); see also PLP 29642, landowner in Loziki (Esph., note in p.145)

[197]See references in PLP 16849 (add: Kravari, *Philothéou*, 297-298) and 16850. Most of John's possessions were outside Chalkidike, in the theme of Serrai-Strymon, but we know he was a Thessalonian from Lemerle, "Praktikon de Karakala", 285, l.44.

[198]Assuming that Lavra II, 250, 294, Doch. **16**., 132, Xénoph.**19**, 158; **21**, 168 refer to the same peron as Doch. **11**, 119 (PLP 91066 and 91067)

[199]Xénoph.**19**, 158; Xérop.**22**., 176. For the meaning of "allagion", see M.Bartusis, "The Megala Allagia and the Tzaousios: Aspects of Provincial Military Organization in Late Byzantium", *REB* 47 (1989) 183-207

[200]Lavra II **90**, 89, 91; **97**, 132; **108**, 212

[201]Lemerle,"Praktikon de Karakala", 285. See also PLP nos 868, 869, 872

[202]PLP 5707 (add: Iviron III **66**, 128-129; also Chil.**100**, 209; **102**, 212-213; **110**, 228; **114**,237; **116**, 239-241 and Zogr.**XXXIV**, 80 must refer to the other Peter, the *paidopoulos* of Andronikos II, who was not a *sebastos* in 1327)

[203]Doch. **11**, 118-119. I do not agree with the reading of the signature: the donor's first name should not be George, since that was the name of his father and of his son and the practice of children bearing the parent's first name is extremely uncommon. As for *myrtaites*, it is a hapax in documentary sources, which certainly argues against it being a title, like *sebastos*.

Doukopoulos had 300 modioi in Kassandra before 1300[204], while another Peter had an *oikonomia* that included 300 modioi in Loziki.

Another known family of soldiers are the Deblitzenoi, represented here by the sebastos Manuel, *Tzaousios* of the Grand Allagion of Thessalonica, who benefited from the taxes of Daphne in 1301. This source of income passed to his children, including probably the imperial *stratiotes* Demetrios Deblitzenos, independently attested later, who had an *oikonomia* of 400 hyp. in Hermeleia and elsewhere[205].

Theodosios Skaranos became the beneficiary of imperial grants of lands and paroikoi in the area of Hermeleia, but it is not clear in what capacity. Probably he had been a *stratiotes* as well, but at some point these properties had been ceded to him unconditionally, and he added to them more, through purchase. At the moment of Skaranos' death his son, left only with his horse, was entrusted to the emperor's care, in the hope perhaps that he would be admitted into the ranks of the *stratiotai* under the command of a Πορφυρογέννητος[206].

Although the nature of the properties does not concern us in this chapter, it is noteworthy that in the great majority of cases mentioned, the properties originate as imperial grants, although the conditions of holding them vary. It appears that the lands and peasants of Chalkidike were used by the state primarily as a means of rewarding its servants, soldiers or functionaries and only as an exception given away to the great magnates as unconditional gifts. Among these lands, however, we do encounter small plots of land which are bought and sold independently from the imperial grants. Perhaps these were the lands that the inhabitants of Thessalonica owned at the moment of the imperial conquest and that they were allowed to retain as private property.

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[204]Xénoph.4, 86; 5, 92

[205]Iviron III 70, 175; Zogr.XXVII, 62; Doch.11, 119; 26, 185-186; see also N.Oikonomides, "The Properties of the Deblitzenoi in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", in A.E.Laiou (ed.),*Charanis Studies*, Rutgers 1980, 176-198

[206]Xérop.9, 81. The identification of the "Porphyrogennetos" is not clear, since the document is undated. If the date proposed by the editor (shortly before 1274) is correct, we would have to do with Constantine, son of Michael VIII, who would be quite young though! Furthermore, the text is fragmented and the sense of Skaranos' provisions is unclear at that point.

Thessalonica

During the last decades of the thirteenth and especially during the fourteenth century, the majority of the known aristocrats can be connected, in one way or another, with the city of Thessalonica. This may be partly due to the geographical focus of the majority of the documentary sources that have reached us. Thessalonica is the best documented city of Late Byzantium, among other reasons because of its proximity to Mount Athos. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the many aristocrats who were born in Thessalonica, resided there, or had firm family connections in it make the city a major geographical center of the aristocracy, comparable to Constantinople. Several factors may account for this, most importantly the prosperity of the city itself. Thessalonica was a major center of commerce in the Balkans and a thriving port[207]. It seems that, although long-distance sea trade was apparently under the absolute dominance of the Italians, a large portion of the trading and other economic activity passed through the hands of the Thessalonians. Around 1319-20, we hear of certain merchants from Thessalonica who hired Venetian ships in order to trade in Euboea, with a cargo worth 8,000 hyperpyra. At that time, we are told that merchants from Thessalonica and Constantinople had invested about 10,000 hyperpyra that the Venetians still owed to them[208]. The city may also have harbored a prosperous artisans' class. The surviving monuments of Thessalonica and its region testify to the high skill and renown of its builders and painters, but we do not know much about the importance of other forms of artisanal activity or whether it was export-oriented. Besides trading and artisanal activities, the city also enjoyed a large part of the agricultural wealth of its hinterland: the landed possessions of the citizens of Thessalonica were guaranteed by imperial chrysobulls and several Thessalonians

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[207]The presentation of O.Tafrali, *Thessalonique au quatorzième siècle*, Paris 1913, 112-129 is still largely valid. See also references to Thessalonica as a center of grain export and other trade in A.E.Laiou-Thomadakis, "The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean trade System; Thirteent-Fifteenth Centuries", *DOP* 34-35 (1980-81) (hereafter Laiou, "Byzantine Economy"),passim and N. Oikonomidès, *Hommes d' affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople*, Montréal 1979 (hereafter Oikonomidès, *Hommes d' affaires*), passim. Most of the evidence, however comes from after 1350. Also A.Laiou, "Η Θεσσαλονίκη, η ενδοχώρα της και ο οικονομικός της χώρος στην εποχή των Παλαιολόγων",*Byzantine Makedonia*, Thessalonica 1995. For the topography and political history of the city see G.Theocharides, *Τοπογραφία καὶ πολιτικὴ ἱστορία τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης κατὰ τὸν ΙΔ´ αἰῶνα*, Thessalonica 1959
[208]*DVL* I, 126-127

who entered public service became the recipients of imperial grants of lands, paroikoi and other forms of rural income. All the above factors point to the fact that the city was able to support a large middle class, some of whose members were quite wealthy. This middle class was the social pool in which several individuals of the middle- and low aristocracy had their origins, and is represented by such family names as Kampanos, Pharmakes, Spartenos, Kokalas and others. These were mostly people who crowned a prosperous career with the acquisition of a title like *sebastos*, or succesful businessmen who invested into the offices of the public and fiscal administration and, if lucky, reached the ranks of the court hierarchy. Finally the urban middle-class families occasionally produced *stratiotai* and military officials.

Besides having its own middle class,Thessalonica also attracted the highly born great aristocrats of the imperial entourage. For most of the period under study the city was the residence of close relatives of the emperors, despots, empresses and -especially in the fourteenth century- the emperors themselves[209]. For extended periods of time the center of the court could shift to Thessalonica, following the emperor's presence in the West. This is illustrated by an act of sale written in Thessalonica in 1333: besides the vendor (the *protostrator*Theodore Synadenos) the act is signed by the Grand Constable, the Grand Papias, the Grand Hetaireiarch, the Grand Adnoumiastes, the *protallagator* and the Domestic of the Themes, all of whom witness the sale[210]. In the same period, sometime before 1336, an investigation of a case of heresy led by the metropolitan of Thessalonica was witnessed by the Eparch, the Grand Adnoumiastai, the Judge of the Fossaton and a Hetaireiarch[211]. Many of the members of the court may have preferred to settle there, especially if they had

[209]Andronikos II first travelled to Thessalonica ca. 1299. His son, the Despot John, died there in 1305. After 1310 the empress Irene resided in the city. Michael IX had his see there when he died in 1320, whereas his brothers, Constantine and Demetrios were governors of the city. Andronikos III resided in the city for long periods during the 1330s.
[210]Chil. 123, 256, 258; we know that the act was written in Thessalonica, since its author, Demetrios Diabasemeres, official of the local Church, is well known from several other documents (cf. S.Kaplaneres, "Δημήτριος Διαβασημέρης ὁ μεγαλοναΐτης οἰκονόμος", *Byzantiaka* 5(1985), 77-86)
[211]Patr.Reg.II 111, 114

considerable properties in the Western parts[212]. Others took advantage of their service in the city to invest in urban or rural properties there.

It is likely that the aristocracy of Thessalonica included refugees who flocked there from other parts of the empire, but particularly from Asia Minor after the advance of the Turks. An atmosphere of tolerance and acceptance, praised by Nikephoros Choumnos in his panegyric of the city[213], and the many opportunities of the city made it a major pole of attraction for uprooted Anatolians. Another oration, this time by Manuel Gabalas, specifies that these newcomers included people of distinction and owners of considerable fortunes, whose capital added to the wealth and prosperity of the city[214]. It is very possible that these immigrants included aristocratic families or people who aspired to aristocratic status, although I have not been able to identify beyond doubt particularly distinguished individuals who moved from Asia Minor to Thessalonica[215].

The list of the known aristocrats who resided or owned property in Thessalonica slightly modifies the broad picture presented above: it appears that the great majority came essentially from the first of the three groups described above, the local families. The great aristocrats, once we deduct the governors of the city and the commanders of armies, have a very limited representation either as residents or property owners in the immediate area of the city (excluding Chalkidike). Nikephoros Kantakouzenos, cousin of John VI and later *sebastokrator*, had paroikoi in Kalamaria that were confiscated in 1342[216]. The *stratopedarches* Tarchaneiotes happened to be present in the same area in 1344[217]. We do

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[212]We have the example of Alexios-Arsenios Tzamplakon. For evidence of his residence in the city, see above, note 133. Although the origins of his family lay probably in Eastern Macedonia, some Tzamplakones had connections with Thessalonica, as testified by the estate that Arsenios' father owned by the river Gallikos (Arkadios Batopedinos, "Ἁγιορειτικὰ ἀνάλεκτα",*Gregorios ho Palamas* 3(1919), 437)
[213]Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca* II, 147
[214]*Monody on the death of dearest Kallierges*, ed. L.Previale in *BZ* 41(1941), 21
[215]The two commanders, John Monomachos and Constantine Doukas Limpidaris, who took part in a conspiracy in 1307 were from Asia Minor. Limpidaris, in particular, seems to have had some importance back home, since he was sent by his compatriots to plead their cause at court in Constantinople. But I do not think that these two can be considered as representative of aristocratic refugees from Asia Minor. The affair, with references to sources and bibliography, is discussed in Ch.V.
[216]Kravari, *Philothéou*, 297-298
[217]Xénoph., 203

not know if either resided in Thessalonica at the time and, for the latter, whether he was a member of the high aristocracy at all. Michael Laskaris, brother of Theodore I, had resided in Thessalonica in the 1240's, but he was probably fleeing the empire for political reasons, although he collaborated in the betrayal of the city in 1246[218]. Nikephoros Choumnos, who invested in real estate inside the city[219] did reside in Thessalonica for a prolonged period, but this may be connected to some sort of disgrace. Leaving those cases aside, I have attempted to list the Thessalonian families[220] that appear to have given individuals of aristocratic status, trying to trace their geographical connections, where possible.

Deblitzenos. We have already ecountered this Thessalonian family of soldiers when examining their possessions in Chalkidike[221]. The most prominent Deblitzenoi attested in Thessalonica itself are the *oikeios* Philip Deblitzenos, to whom the emperor gave two urban metochia of Zographou[222], the Sebastos Manuel, Tzaousios of the army of Thessalonica[223], and the *oikeioi* Demetrios, imperial soldier, and Constantine, who were physically present in the city in 1311 and 1341 respectively[224]. We do not know how or when the family appeared in Thessalonica.

Doukopoulos. We already encountered some Doukopouloi as pronoia-holders in Chalkidike. The family (if we can use the term) had old roots in Thessalonica: around 1240 the *megalodoxotatos* George Doukopoulos was a subordinate to the duke of Thessalonica[225]. Two Doukopouloi are encountered with functions similar to each other: in 1284 (?) Peter

218Akrop.I, 79
219Choumnos Ep., 29
220The term "family" is used here in a general, conventional way. In many cases we may have to do with actual extended families (see p.213), but in others we may simply have to do with bearers of the same family name that are not connected by any close bonds of kinship or any other sense of unity.
221See above, note 205
222Zogr. **XXIV**, 53
223Iviron III **70**, 175
224Doch. **11**, 119; A.Lavriotes, "Athonitis stoa", *VV* 9(1902), 133
225Goudas, *op.cit.*, 212 (redated)

Doukopoulos was φρούραρχος of the city, where he renovated a church[226]. Around that time Demetrios Doukopoulos, dead before 1300, was καστροφύλαξ[227]. If the terms are equivalent we may have to do with a family (father and son?) occupying the same office in an unofficially hereditary way. Another Demetrios Doukopoulos in 1324 owned land inside the city, which he leased for building[228].

Iatropoulos. A bearer of that name was among the "ὀνομαστοὶ καὶ γνώριμοι" citizens of Thessalonica who delivered the city to John III in 1246[229]. Not many Iatropouloi are known subsequently. They include a landowner in the area of Thessalonica[230]. Perhaps Demetrios Iatropoulos, Sebastos and *logothetes ton oikeiakon* (1260-1295) is related also to them, since he was present in the city around 1290[231].

Kabasilas. As was seen earlier, the origins of this family lay in Western Greece, where a branch remained until the fourteenth century. The Kabasilai of Thessalonica are extremely numerous and it is not certain that we can talk of them as one family. They all fit a broad description, though: they are educated and active in the exchanges between the intellectuals of the time; many follow an ecclesiastic/monastic career, but they are also encountered holding court offices, even of a military character. Among the more distinguished Kabasilai are the Aktouarios (court doctor) of Michael VIII and Andronikos II, who is also attested as landowner(1282, 1296)[232]; the Sebastos Theodore Kabasilas, first Grand Dioiketes and then Logothete of the Stratiotikon (ca. 1315-1327)[233]; the *epi tou stratou* who died before 1321 (although that one owned properties in Ioannina and may belong to the Western

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[226]S.Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in thirteenth-century churches in Greece*, Vienna 1992, 47; perhaps there is a connection with Anna Doukopoulina Mesopotamitissa, who inherited the ownership of a monastery in Thessalonica bef. 1306 (Xenoph.7, 100)

[227]Xénoph.**4**, 86

[228]Xénoph.**20**, 164

[229]Acrop.I, 79

[230]Iviron III **70**, 175

[231]Xérop.**10**, 92; Iviron III **65**, 125 But the identification is weakened if Demetrios Iatropoulos is the *prokathemenos* of Philadelpheia who corresponded with Theodore Laskaris bef. 1259 (Laskaris Ep., 197; PLP 7958 rejected the latter identification erroneously supposing that the letter concerned the metropolitan of the city)

[232]Pach.I.ii, 665; Chil.**12**, 30

[233]Kantak.I, 240; see also PLP 10090

Kabasilai)[234]. Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas was imprisoned and exiled because of his support for John Kantakouzenos. His property, which included buildings in the city, was confiscated, but he was restored to his fortunes after the victory of Kantakouzenos: he became Grand Papias and among other things he was granted a *posotes* of 250 hyp./year with rights of hereditary transmission[235]. Another important Kabasilas (on his mother's side), Nicholas Chamaetos, was also a Kantakouzenist, who headed the delegation that intended to deliver the city to Manuel Kantakouzenos in 1346[236]. Several properties in the broader area of the city were owned by Kabasilai[237].

<u>Kampanos</u>. The only known Kampanos of some importance was Nicholas, attested in the city with the rank of *sebastos* in 1240. Six years later he was among the prominent Thessalonians who handed the city over to John III. Kampanos himself secretly contacted the emperor in Melnik and was given a charter of privileges and guarantees for Thessalonica. His pretext for going to Melnik was trade and his name suggests that he may have come from a family of merchants. In 1262, under the new regime that he helped bring about, Nicholas Kampanos was *prokathemenos* of Thessalonica and *apographeus* of the theme, together with his old friend, Demetrios Spartenos[238]. The disappearence of the name afterwards may be due to the physical extinction of the family, or perhaps there was intermarriage with higher aristocratic families and the Kampanoi abandoned a name betraying their middle-class origins for a more illustrious one.

<u>Kapandrites</u>. Three Kapandritai Skouterioi (here Skouterios must be a family name rather than an office), father, son and a relative, were buried in St. Nicholas Orphanos in

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234 MM V, 86-87= Lampros in *NE* 12(1915) 40

235 Lavra III **app.XII**, 208-209; Dionysiou **2**, 46; Zogr. **XXV**, 54-56(if identical); **XLIV**, 102, 104; Xérop. **27**, 200

236 Kantak. 574. On Nicholas Chamaetos see A. Angelopoulos, *Νικόλαος Καβάσιλας Χαμαετός. Ἡ ζωὴ καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ*, Thessalonica 1970

237 For all other Kabasilai, see PLP nos 10061-10102; also Ἀθ.Ἀγγελόπουλος, "Τὸ γενεαλογικὸν δένδρον τῆς οἰκογενείας τῶν Καβάσιλων", <u>Μακεδονικά</u> 17(1977) 367-395

238 Goudas, *op.cit.*, 215(redated); Akrop.I, 79ff; Iviron III **59**, 103

Thessalonica. Their epitaphs by Philes allude to their relation to Berroia, where another branch of Kapandritai is attested, but do not make clear the origins of the family[239].

Kerameas. A Thessalonian family that gave officials both to the state and to the church. They include the metropolitan Theodore Kerameas, deposed before 1284, and his brothers, Nicholas Kerameas, *sebastos* and Domestic of the Western Themes, Constantine Kerameas, *megalodoxotatos*, and Basil Kerameas[240]. The *sebastos* Michael Kerameas was *apographeus* in Thessalonica around 1270-81[241]. The family also gave an Athonite abbot and a patriarch of Constantinople[242]. It is not clear if the Kerameis were originally from Thessalonica or whether they followed the metropolitan there upon his election. The name is also attested in Asia Minor earlier[243].

Kok(k)alas. In the fourteenth century the Kokalades are connected with the fiscal and financial administration: in 1320 Constantine Kokalas has the fiscal charge of Thessalonica[244]. Another, or perhaps the same, Kokalas was *megas logariastes* and his daughter was married to Andronikos Angelos-Palaiologos ca. 1326-27[245]. I believe that this Kokalas should rather be identified to George Kokalas, *megas adnoumiastes* in 1336[246]. Admittedly, the order of the offices in the court hierarchy would be a problem, but it is possible that we have to do with a slip of Kantakouzenos' memory in the first case. Were these officials settled in the capital or in Thessalonica? During the civil war, in 1326, the *megas logariastes* was in Constantinople but was sent to Andronikos III in Thessalonica; in 1336 the *megas adnoumiastes* was present in Thessalonica, but so was the majority of the court, following Andronikos III in a Western campaign. Ten years later, in 1346, George Kokalas (if the same) is again in Thessalonica, a prominent leader among the Zealots,

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239PLP 11005, 11006, 11008, 11009; Martini/Philes, 127-128
240Lavra II 75, 30
241Doch. 9, 108; Xérop.9, 81; Esph.7, 66 (according to PLP 11646; but according to Oikonomidès in Doch., 105, the first name of the latter is Nicholas)
242PLP nos 11648, 11649; other ecclesiastical Kerameis are nos. 11634 and 11637
243MM IV, 152
244"εἰς ἐνοχὴν τῶν δημοσιακῶν δουλειῶν":Iviron III 76, 240
245Kantak.I, 232
246Patr.Reg.II 111, 114

sacrificing to their fury his relative, Pharmakes[247]. George Kokalas is also ironically mentioned in the anonymous "anti-Mafia pamphlet" where his Thessalonian origin is stated[248]. A Demetrios Kokalas, *oikeios* of the emperor, was given in 1350 by imperial chrysobull lands and paroikoi in the theme of Thessalonica that were previously owned by high-ranking aristocrats[249]. Could that be a reward for his family's loyalism during the civil war? Although the presence of the Kokalades in Thessalonica is well established[250], we should note a Kokalas, official in Constantinople in 1304, who was accused by the patriarch Athanasios of being bribed to support the Jews of the capital[251]. Therefore there might be more than one distinguished families of that name and the identifications of the officials are not absolutely certain.

Kot(e)anitzes. Theodore Koteanitzes from Thessalonica, leader of an army body, deserted Kantakouzenos in 1342. He was Grand Tzaousios and commander of the Thessalonica-based army until 1346, when he was attacked by the Zealots. In 1341 he had properties neighbouring those of the Spartenoi[252]. His foreign name indicates that he is probably a relation of the Serbian adventurer Kotanitzes Tornikes[253]. Perhaps he was a descendent of Leo Koteanitzes, *oikeios* of the emperor, who was rewarded for his military services with a grant of land in 1293[254]. It is possible that after the Zealot dominion the family moved to Thessaly.

[247]Kantak.II, 575-582. There is a problem in identifying him with the person of 1326: Kantakouzenos would be expected to hint at the identity, or at least at his office, in the second case.
[248]Hunger, "Anti-mafia Pamphlet", 97. Unlike M. Angold, "Archons and Dynasts: Local Aristocracies and the Cities of the Later Byzantine Empire", in Angold, *Aristocracy*, Oxford 1984, 248, I do not think that the passage -Kokalas is ironically praised for allowing bandits to break into houses only in order to surprise them on their way out- necessarily refers to a "famous incident".
[249]Lavra III **129**, 41; **130**, 45
[250]See PLP 14091 (a priest) and 14094 (possibly)
[251]Athanasius Ep., 82
[252]Kantak.II, 241, 576; Lavra III **App.XII**, 208; Doch. **23**, 170-171
[253]On him, see Lj.Maksimović, "Kotanic Tornik", *ZRVI* 29-30(1991), 183-191
[254]PLP 13317(for Tornikes); for Leo, see Chil. **11**, 28-29 (not in the PLP?)

Koutzoulatos. Another of the distinguished citizens who betrayed the despot Demetrios in favor of the empire in 1246. The family is attested later in the century, with the Megalodoxotatos Peter Koutzoulatos in 1284 and 1295[255].

Maroules. The family of St.Germanos is characteristic of the group that we describe as urban middle class. It can hardly be considered aristocratic, since the only person who reaches some distinction is the saint's father, appointed by the emperor to some important command (he commanded the guard of the city gates: perhaps he was *kastrophylax*, *prokathemenos*, or a simple toll-collector)[256]. The family had property in the city[257] and its members included priests, physicians and monks on Athos, as well as a *stratiotes* with a modest pronoia of 72 nomismata[258]. There is no certain connection of this family with the commander of 1303-1306 or with the Constantinopolitan aristocratic family of the same name[259].

Moschopoulos. In Thessalonica we only know of the *sebastos* Gregory Moschopoulos, who lived there in 1315. Other Moschopouloi, litterati and ecclesiastics, are attested in Con/ple and elsewhere. A *sebastos* by that name lived in the West in the beginning of the 13th century[260].

Mouzalon. The Mouzalones, originating from Asia Minor, are mostly established in Constantinople, whence come the best known bearers of the name. There is, however, a family of that name in Thessalonica, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Most important are Constantine Mouzalon, administrator of the imperial *zeugelateia* in the area of Thessalonica and later *sebastos*, who attempted to buy houses inside the city (for 193 hyp.) and invest in improving them (1321-1324)[261] and Theodore Mouzalon, a *stratiotes* of the Grand Allagion of Thessalonica, killed fighting the Turks before 1355, owner of 1,000 modioi of land in Kalamarea[262].

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255 Akrop.I, 79; Lavra II **75**, 30; Iviron III **65**, 125
256 Life of Germanos, 98, 104-106 (Germanos' father)
257 Doch.**49**, 263
258 Xénoph.**16**, 143(Nicholas Maroules); for other members see PLP nos 17145-17153
259 See above, p.102
260 Patr.Reg.I **22**, 226-228; Chom,, 527; also see PLP19367-19376
261 Chil. **68**, 154; Patr.Reg.I **71**, 422ff.
262 Doch. **29**, 193; for other Mouzalones in Thess/ca see PLP 19432, 19434, 19435

Palaiologos. Several aristocratic individuals with the name Palaiologos are attested in Thessalonica. But if we exclude those appointed governors of the city or "general Kephalai" in Macedonia, the others do not appear to have any close connection with the imperial family. We cannot even be certain that we have to do with one family, or even with branches of Palaiologoi, since that name would be borne in the fourteenth century by most people who had a Palaiologos among their ancestors, and often replaced in everyday usage other family names[263]. Therefore, behind the Palaiologoi of Thessalonica may hide descendents of other families. Their status could occasionally be quite distinguished: in 1333 the Grand Constable John Palaiologos was present in Thessalonica, but this was due perhaps to chance[264]. In 1334 the Grand Drongarios Stephen Palaiologos had sold gardens and fields that he owned in the area of the city[265]. Two Palaiologoi were among the leaders of the Zealot movement: Michael Palaiologos, who closely supervised on behalf of the Zealots the administration of the appointed governor, John Apokaukos, was assassinated in 1345[266]. We know more about his successor, Andrew Palaiologos, *oikeios* and Eparch in 1345. He was the leader of the "nautikon" (in what sense, it is hard to tell. In my opinion he was the military commander of the *gasmouloi*, "marines" of the war navy who were stationed in the city). At first his stance may have been influenced by the benefices he reaped for his loyalism: in 1345, the government of John V granted him unlimited rights of transmission for the 1,000 modioi and the 2 paroikoi that had already been given to him in Kravatas. *Epi tes trapezes* since 1348, he controlled the city, alternating between compromise and open rebellion until he was forced to flee. Allegedly he conspired later with the Serbs of Dušan[267]. A third Palaiologos is known

[263]For example the Angeloi Doukai Komnenoi, descendents of a daughter of Michael VIII are always called Palaiologoi to denote this relationship, although the names that they had from their father were very distinguished. Chapter IV deals in more detail with the patterns that regulate usage of family names in the Palaiologan period.
[264]Chil. **123**, 258
[265]Lavra III **122**, 18
[266]Kantak.II, 569-571
[267]Kantak.II, 573-582, III, 104-105, 108-110; Lavra III **124**, 27ff

in connection to the Zealots, this one a victim of their atrocities. According to Kantakouzenos he belonged to the group of the *aristoi*[268], which may or may not denote the high aristocracy.

Petzikopoulos. We know of the family of the *stratopedarches* Petzikopoulos, dead before 1325. His property included lands in Kalamaria, part of which was given as dowry to his son-in-law, Alexander Doukas Sarantenos[269], and a group of buildings in Thessalonica. Part of them were given as dowry to the same daughter, Kale, while the rest were inherited by his other children, the *doulos* of the emperor Demetrios Petzikopoulos, Constantine, John Senachereim and the nun Eulogia. Eventually the whole property was acquired by Chilandar[270].

Pharmakes. Distinguished Thessalonians of that name include the *sebastos* who married the daughter of Demetrios Spartenos and owned through a chrysobull a vast *zeugelateion* with paroikoi[271]. Also the brother-in-law of Kokalas, opponent and victim of the Zealots[272]. Some Pharmakai, as we saw, owned properties in Chalkidike[273].

Sarantenos. That name is encountered in Thessalonica, in the area of Serrai and in Berroia[274]. But the landowners of Serrai and the residents of Berroia are relatives of the Thessalonian Sarantenoi[275]. Among the Sarantenoi in Thessalonica, there were the four brothers -with the second name of Doukas- who held in common an *oikonomia* near Thessalonica around 1315[276]. Only one of them, Nicholas, was a *sebastos*, but another, Alexander, signed 13 years later as *doulos* of the emperor, when he sold some buildings in the city from his wife's dowry. In 1322 he was laying claims, with his father-in-law(?), over land of Hilandar in

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[268]Kantak.II, 393
[269]See note 277, below.
[270]Chil. **84**, 178-181; **112**, 230-235
[271]Lavra II **98**, 138
[272]Kantak.II, 574, 581
[273]See above, note 415
[274]Theocharides, *Diatheke*, 51-54
[275]Theodore Sarantenos (resident of Berroia) is an uncle of George Sarantenos, M.Hetaireiarches (in Thessalonica):G.I.Theocharides, *Μία διαθήκη καὶ μία δίκη βυζαντινή· Ἀνέκδοτα βατοπεδινὰ ἔγγραφα*, Thessalonica 1962 (hereeafter Theocharides, *Diatheke*), 27, 53; Xene and Sophrosyne Sarantene, property owners in Serrai resided in Thessalonica and may have been his relatives as well(Zogr.**XXVIII**, 64-67; Theocharides, *op.cit.*, 52)
[276]Xénoph., 177, differing with Theocharides on the location of Zabarnikeia.

Kalamaria[277]. It is not certain whether Thessalonica was the home of the *protokynegos* Sarantenos Indanes (ca. 1300) who owned a pronoia at Loroton and cultivated land at Strymon[278], but Thessalonica is the place where his daughters, the nuns Xene and Sophrosyne, hold their transactions. The Thessalonian sisters Anna Doukaina Sarantene Indanina and Eleodora Sarantene Tzympinissa are also related to him, but probably not his daughters[279]. Another Sarantenos, the *megas hetaireiarches* George, is also physically present in Thessalonica. He witnessed a donation by the daughters of Sarantenos Indanes and may have been their relative[280]. The origins of the family though, are unknown before the fourteenth century[281]. Perhaps they can be connected to Angelos Doukas Sarantenos, a military man, founder of a monstery in Constatinople, mentioned by Philes[282].

Senachereim. Several officials and other members of that name are attested as physically present in Thessalonica. This may not be due to chance, but we may have to do with a branch of that family (whose origins lie in the aristocracy of the Nicean Empire) settled in the city. The most important among them are occupants of military offices: Manuel the *protallagator* and perhaps later *epi tou stratou* (1321-1341)[283], a *krites tou Phossatou*(1336), a *skouterios* (1344)[284], the Grand Chartulary Nikephoros Senachereim (1344)[285].

Sgouropoulos. In 1338 the wife and son of a Thessalonian *sebastos* by that name sold their *gonike* land of 3,550 modioi to Xenophontos[286]. Other Sgouropouloi in Thessalonica include priests and perhaps some of the many Sgouropouloi known from the correspondence of the

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[277]Chil.**81**, 175; **84**, 178-181; **86**, 186; **95**, 202; the identification of "Sarantenos and Petzikopoulos" is based on the fact that Alexander was married to the daughter of Petzikopoulina,

[278]Lavra II **90**, 85; Zogr.**XXVIII**, 64-67

[279]Patr.Reg.II **152**, 412; this Anna cannot be identified with the dead sister of the two nuns of the previous note: the one died before 1330 and was inherited by her sisters, while the other had children who were still minors in 1348.

[280]Zogr.**XXVIII**, 67; Chil. **123**, 258

[281]Theocharides, Op.cit., 51 (but note a Sarantenos in Smyrna, MM IV, 278); for other Sarantenoi in Thessalonica see PLP 24894, 24895, 24900, 24913

[282]Philes I, 247; M.Gedeon, "Μανουὴλ τοῦ Φιλῆ ἱστορικὰ ποιήματα" in *Ekklesiastike Aletheia* 3(1882/83), 653

[283]Chil.**123**, 258; Kantak.I, 130, II, 77

[284]Patr.Reg.II **111**, 114; Doch. **23**, 170, 171

[285]Ibid.

[286]Xénoph.**25**, 191

time[287]. Demetrios Sgouropoulos was a Thessalonian corresondent of Maximos Planoudes. At some point towards the end of the thirteenth century he had occupied a position of importance in Aulon and generously assisted Planoudes and his fellow ambassadors after they had fallen victims of pirates on their return from a mission to Venice[288].

Spartenos. Demetrios Spartenos was already an official in the service of the Despot Demetrios in 1246, when he took part in the plot to betray the city to John III, together with his friend, Nicholas Kampanos. In 1262 the two were *apographeis* of the theme of Thessalonica and Demetrios bore the title of *sebastos*. His services were rewarded, among other things, with the village of Loziki, which he divided among his sons and the monastery of Hilandar. He died in Hilandar just before 1265[289]. Of his four sons, two are attested as *sebastoi*, Andronikos Spartenos, in 1295, and John Spartenos, *prokathemenos* of Thessalonica in 1284-1290[290]. The latter's son, Demetrios, also became a *sebastos* and *oikeios*. In 1284 he did not have any official distinction yet, but he was rather well-to-do, since he lent 159,5 hyperpyra to the former archbishop Theodore Kerameas[291]. His descendents bear, along with Spartenos, the names of Doukas, Sphrantzes, Palaiologos, indicating the intermarriages of the family[292]. The last important Spartenoi are the *oikeios* Theodore Doukas Spartenos, son or grandson of Demetrios, in 1341[293]and John Spartenos, Grand Tzaousios in 1330, who had income from taxes in Kalamaria in 1321[294].

Western Macedonia

The information from the narrative sources, particularly the description of the civil war of 1341-1347 and the Serbian conquest, allows us to distinguish two kinds of aristocrats

287PLP nos 24998, 25002, 25022, 25025, 25033. 25036
288Planoudes Ep., 47-49
289Akrop.I, 79ff; Iviron III **59**, 60; Chil.**6**, 15-17
290Lavra II **75**, 32, 137; Iviron III **65**, 125; **67**, 134
291Lavra II **75**, 32; **98**, 138
292See PLP 16887, 21341, 26498; also Živojnović, "Spartini", according to whom Agape Angelina and Theodore Spartenos are grandchildren of Demetrios, children of Maria Doukaina Angelina. Alternatively, I believe, the nun Agape could be Maria herself after a second marriage and Theodore Demetrios' son.
293Lavra III **app.XII**, 208
294Lavra II **109**, 224-226, Zogr.**XXVIII**, 68

in the cities of Western Macedonia (particularly Berroia and Edessa)[295]: The *dynatoi*, the local families, some of whom had considerable influence in these cities, and the members of the imperial aristocracy, court officials, relatives of the emperor etc., who resided in those cities. The latter were probably people who were given imperial grants in those parts and, at some point, settled in those cities. Unlike what happened in the cities of Thrace or Eastern Macedonia during the civil war, when the populace attacked the high aristocracy, such open internal antagonisms are not attested in this area. Perhaps this is a sign of fundamental differences between the *dynatoi* in Western Macedonian cities and the urban middle classes of the other cities of the empire, but there is not much we can say about their social composition or economic activities. A series of documents from Berroia (the testament of Theodore Sarantenos and the related pieces)[296] show the existence of two basic categories of agricultural properties in the area of the city: the properties that belonged or had belonged to citizens since the time of the Byzantine conquest (1240's), when an imperial chrysobull had guaranteed the freedom of their possession and transmission[297], and the properties that emanated from the crown and were ceded under various forms of concession to the aristocrats into imperial service. It could be said that these two categories correspond to the two social groups described above, but for the fact that many properties of the first category have passed to the hands of the imperial aristocracy, probably through purchase. Furthermore, there is evidence that some local *dynatoi* entered imperial service and were, presumably, rewarded with grants as well. The general impression from the prosopographical survey of those cities is one of a strong and agressive presence of "outsider" aristocrats. However, it should be noted that in time of troubles their properties would be the first to change hands, whereas all new conquerors were willing to accomodate the locally rooted *dynatoi* in order to gain their support and cooperation.

295Kantak.I, 272-278; II, 373; III, 31, 120ff
296See Theocharides, *Diatheke*, passim.
297Ibid., 13

The most important of the great aristocrats did not restrict their presence to one area. Andronikos Palaiologos (Angelos), a descendent of the Despots of Western Greece in the service of the empire, who held several governorships in Western Greece and Albania, owned among others land inside Edessa and flocks around Berroia, while his family resided in Ohrid. His stronghold during the civil war (1328) was Prilep[298]. Edessa, during the same period was home to the families of the other army leaders of Andronikos II -the Despot Demetrios, the Eparch Michael Senachereim Monomachos and Isaac Rhaoul[299]- whereas inside the city the Grand Stratopedarch Angelos Senachereim had bought various urban properties: an inn, four mills, one house, a vineyard and an orchard[300]. Thanks to the documents of Sarantenos mentioned above we know a lot about the members of the imperial aristocracy settled in Berroia[301]. The *Skouterios* Theodore Sarantenos and his nephew, the *prothierakarios* Sarantenos, owned several properties inside and outside the city. A "Sarantes", rebel in Prosak, could be related to the Sarantenoi of Berroia[302]. Other families owning lands were the Palaiologoi Soultanoi and the Melikai, both partly descended of Seljuk families who arrived in the empire together with the last sultan, Izeddin Kaikaus II[303]. The Melikai are related to the Astrapyrai, one of whom represented the *aristoi* of the city in an embassy to John Kantakouzenos[304]. Michael Doukas Arianites was another landowner, relative of Sarantenos, while there is mention of the properties and the monastic foundation of the Aspietes family. The Grand Drongarios Constantine Tornikes is also present in the area at the time. But not all members of this group came from outside Berroia: Michael Lyzikos, whose properties neighboured those of Sarantenos, came from a local aristocratic family, as old as the time of Chomatianos, who also gave a military commander and governor of

[298]See references in PLP 21435
[299]Kantak.I, 273
[300]Regel, *Batopediou.*, 17
[301]Theocharides, *op.cit.*, 19-28, 31-36,54-58; on Berroia see G.Chionides, *Ἱστορία τῆς Βεροίας*, Thessalonica 1970, esp. 33-57, 90-92, 113-136
[302]Choumnos Ep., 165-167
[303]See E.Zachariadou, "Οἱ Χριστιανοὶ ἀπόγονοι τοῦ Ἰζεδδὶν Καικαοὺς Β΄ στὴ Βέροια", *Makedonika* 6(1964-65), 62-74; "Melik of Berroia" is one of the aristocrats in Hunger, "Anti-Mafia pamphlet", 97.
[304]Kantak.II, 353

Edessa, George Lyzikos[305]. The *hetaireiarches* Andronikos Tzymiskes, friend of Gregory Akindynos, was originally from Berroia as well[306]. The recent origins of his family may be Western Greek, since the name is also borne by officials of the Despotate. It is interesting that the Grand Interpreter John Tzimiskes, who took part in the council of Lyons in 1274, is mentioned by Pachymeres with the name "Berroiotes"[307]; he may well have been a member of the same family.

Finally, we know the names of some local *dynatoi* in Western Macedonia: the Angeloi Rhadiporoi of Edessa (1328), whose name shows the merge of an old local, probably Slavic[308], background and some intermarriage with the aristocracy, either during the time of the Despotate or later; Laskaris (in Edessa) whose name also testifies to some intermarriage in the past[309]; the Netzades in Kastoria, founders of 2 churches around 1300[310], who are described in their dedicatory inscription as "most noble" (πανευγενέστατοι). We do not know if the power of these people was restricted in the area of their cities or if they also entered imperial service. If the latter were true, as suggested by the examples of Lyzikos and Tzymiskes, we could say that the *stratiotai* who were based in the cities of Western Macedonia and fought in the armies of Kantakouzenos and his opponents were members of the families of the local *dynatoi*.

Epiros and Albania

The documentary information about the empire's far West is not very extensive and this explains in part why the only high aristocrats that we know of in association with that area are the commanders of cities and armies. On the other hand, it appears that the power of

[305]Chom., 194-195; Kantak.I, 269, 272; III, 130, 161-162
[306]Encomium of Gregory Palamas in Tsames/Philotheos I, 583-585
[307]Pach.Iii, 493 and note 1
[308]Of course the name Rhadiporos, as it is transmitted, has meaning in Greek (easy passage). Yet I think it improbable that it is a genuine Greek name (it is not attested elsewhere and the language is strangely archaic). On the other hand, the component Rad- is very common in Slavic names (e.g. Radomir, Radoslav, etc.), although my inquiries failed to find the possible meaning of Rhadiporos.
[309]Kantak.I, 274
[310]S.Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-Century Greece*, Vienna 1992, 48, 104

the local aristocracies was much greater in those parts than elsewhere. This power had old roots, at least since the early days of the Despotate, as we already saw. The difficulties that the emperors encountered when trying to impose and maintain their control led them to grant unusually extensive privileges to the local elites, as testified by Andronikos II's chrysobull for the citizens of Ioannina, when the city was practically granted complete autonomy and immunity[311]. There is occasional information about those local aristocrats: in the 1330s some of them revolted succesfully against the newly imposed rule of Andronikos III. They managed to detach from the empire the cities they controlled and then compromised after gaining important concessions, including high court offices for themselves. We know of Nicholas Basilitzes in Arta and Alexios Kabasilas, whose family had old roots in Epeiros, in Rogo[312]. Perhaps those local potentates should be connected with a peculiar social group that appears in Andronikos II's charter of privileges for Ioannina (1319), the *kastrenoi*[313]. The appelation comes from *kastron* and semantically is parallel to the Western *Burgensis*. Trade was certainly among their occupations, since the chrysobull grants them immunity from the *kommerkion*, the basic tax on traded commodities, everywhere in the empire; on the other hand, the *kastrenoi* possessed extended agricultural properties in the area, including several villages whose income they appropriated in some form or another. The *kastrenoi*, unlike other groups of urban dwellers that we encounter in late Byzantine sources, were a closed class: the charter of 1319 specifies that they can transmit their properties only to other members of the same group, a clause that shows their defensive attitude towards infiltration by the great aristocracy. The strange combination of bourgeois and feudal elements in that group, trading activities and local political power, is also shown by the family of Lykoudas: Stamates and Theodore Lykoudas, merchants from Ioannina, had given mortgages to a

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[311]MM V, 77-84; also Andronikos III, upon annexing the Epirote cities "τοὺς δυναμένους παρ' αὐταῖς τιμαῖς τε καὶ προσόδοις ἐτησίοις καὶ ἄλλαις ἠμείψατο εὐεργεσίαις"(Kantak.I, 503); on the chrysobull see Angold, "Archons and Dynasts ", 246; Sdr.Pljakov, "Le statut de la ville byzantine balkanique aux XIIIe-XIVe siècles", *Etudes Balcaniques* 3 (1985), 84-86; Maksimović, *Provincial Administration*, 258-259
[312]Kantak.I, 509-525
[313]The term appears as early as the late elevent century, in the letters of Theophylaktos of Ohrid. For earlier interpretations of the term, see the bibliography -mostly in Russian and Bulgarian- cited by Pljakov, *op.cit.*, 77, n.44

Venetian, perhaps for a loan, but later the *sebastos* Theodore Lykoudas, potentate in Avlon, seized them by force, exercising his *dynasteia*, the arbitrary power that he possessed[314]. We see that members of a family extended their activities in more than one city and in different fields, but also supported each other. The *sebastos* Sgouros, *prokathemenos* of Ioannina in 1321, was also probably a *kastrenos*, since the little monastery he donated to the Church was covered by the provisions of the city's common charter[315]. The *protostrator* (of the Despotate) Theodore Tzymiskes and his brother, founders of a church in nearby Boulgarelli in 1295/96, may have also belonged to that group. Other local aristocrats that we know thanks to their foundations were the Akarnanian *sebastos* Basil Tziskos and the Aetolian Michael Zorianos, *protostrator* of the Despotate at the end of the thirteenth century[316].

Thessaly

After the battle of Pelagonia (1259) the empire undertook the conquest of Thessaly[317]. During that time it incorporated into its high aristocracy some important local families, like the Maliasenoi, while it also began attributing possessions in Thessaly to its great magnates: in 1270, for example, the Caesar Alexios Strategopoulos owned the *chorion* Megale, near Bolos[318]. The process of conquest, however, was slow and met with many setbacks and Thessaly was practically independent from the empire for most of the period under study. As a result, it appears that the Thessalian aristocracy we hear of is mainly composed of local families, without any significant presence of the great aristocracy of the empire. These aristocrats could enter the service of the emperors or the local rulers and their status could range from *pronoia*-holders, like the *protonobelissimos* Marmaras who held

314MM III, 109
315Lampros in *NE* 12 (1915) 40; other Sgouroi in the area include a priest in Avlon (PLP 25043) and probably the Megas Hetaireiarches who founded the Peribleptos in Ohrid (PLP 25060)
316Kalopissi-Verti, *op.cit.*, 54, 56, 58, 99
317On the history of Thessaly at the time, see B. Ferjančić, *Tesalija u XIII i XIV veku*, Beograd 1974 (Vizantoloski institut Srpske Akademije Nauka i Umetnosti; Posebna izdanja, 15); on local lords in the fourteenth century, see A.Solovjev, "Thessalijskie archonty v XIV veke", *BS* 4(1932) 159-174; on the geography, J.Koder/F.Hild, *Hellas und Thessalia*, Vienna 1976 (=Tabula Imperii Byzantini 1)
318MM IV, 390

Tyrnabos ("Trinovos") in 1277[319], to families like the Spingai: Constantine Spinges, *epi ton anamneseon*, official of the local ruler Stephen Gabrielopoulos and supporter of Kantakouzenos, had also properties outside Thessaly, in neighbouring Kitros, which were confiscated in 1342[320]; Leo Spinges, *archon* in Larissa, was given by Andronikos III land near Trikala as well[321].Other beneficiaries of imperial grants were Constantine Bodeses and his family[322], while Theodore Orphanoioannes, governor of Stagoi, had Samosada as his hereditary property[323]. Some of these families rose from mediocre origins, like the Archontitzai: in 1271 Michael Archontitzes and his wife were landowners, neighbours of the Maliasenoi, to whom they sold a piece of property. Although they appear unimportant, they must have had roots in the area of Dryanoubaina, since the whole area is called "tou Archontitze"[324]. In the following century some Archontitzai are much more powerful. John Archontitzes, lord in Trikala, under the regime of the despot John Angelos, was called "most noble". He probably cooperated with the conquering Serbs, since in 1366 he was Grand Duke of the Tsar Symeon and honorary "brother" of the Tsar[325]. Whereas in 1271 Michael Archontitzes aknowledged the Maliasenoi as his "lords and masters", a century later a lord in Trikala bears the names "Archontitzes Maliasenos", the only known descendant (?) of the once powerful family of Maliasenoi[326]. During the rule of John Angelos, nephew and close collaborator of Kantakouzenos, Thessaly became the refuge of some of the usurper's supporters, like Manuel Dioiketes, who arrived and became governor of Trikala after his lands in Macedonia had been confiscated by the rival regime[327]; another example are the Koteanitzai, who must have had to flee Zealot Thessalonica, but appear as a prominent and

[319]Ibid., 419
[320]Bees, Meteora, 67; Lemerle, "Praktikon de Karakala", 285
[321]Bees, Meteora 64; Solovjev/Mošin, *Povelje*, 222
[322]They also owned property since the time of Gabrielopoulos: Bees, *Meteora*, 62ff, 75
[323]Bees, *Meteora*, 70-71; Solovjev/Mošin, *Povelje*, 242
[324]MM IV, 396-399; the name is attested earlier in the Despotate: Bees/Apokaukos, no.34
[325]Solovjev/Mošin, *Povelje*, 224, 256
[326]MM, IV, 397:"κύριοι καὶ δεσπόται ἡμῶν"; L.Heuzey, "Jugement Synodal", *REG* 32 (1919) 310, 312
[327]Lemerle, "Praktikon de Karakala", 285; Kravari, *Philothéou*, 297; Solovjev/Mošin, *Povelje*, 224

"noble" family in Thessaly afterwards[328]. When examining the Thessalian aristocracy we should not forget to mention the family of the two local rulers, the *sebastocrator* Stephen Gabrielopoulos (until 1333) and Michael Gabrielopoulos, who must have succeeded him after an interval of direct Byzantine rule[329]. The origins and the subsequent fate of their family remain unknown.

The Morea

Our information about the Morea before the middle of the fourteenth century is very limited and it does not iclude any great aristocrats apart from the appointed governors[330]. Probably this period was not characterized by any important arrival of aristocrats from outside. We do not know whether the *sebastos* John Polemianites, who undertook several missions in the Morea and had a manuscript copied for him in Mistra in 1311 was actually residing in the Peloponnese. In 1316 he bought buildings in Constantinople, an indication that he might have been a resident of the capital[331]. Most of the local lords that we know about are *sebastoi*; perhaps the title was attributed to them by Constantinople as reward for services or in order to flatter them and assure their loyalty: there is the example of the *sebastos* Theodore Nomikopoulos, lord in Argolis, who joined the empire before 1288 and urged other lords to do so[332]. The emperor confirmed his ownership of Kranidion, but connected it to performance of imperial service, probably because the village was already held by Nomikopoulos under some sort of feudal obligation to the Frankish princes. In 1316 three *sebastoi* from Laconia -Kalodikes, Theodore Lakasas and Manuel Stephanites- are present in Constantinople and testify in the Patriarchal Synod about a case regarding their area of

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[328]Bees, Meteora, 98; Solovjev/Mošin, *op.cit.*,220, 254
[329]Kantak.I, 473; Bees, Meteora 66-70; Solovjev/Mošin, *Povelje*, 222; MM V, 261
[330]See the information collected by D. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée* II, Athens 1953, 211-217.
[331]On the travels, S.Kourouses, *Τὸ ἐπιστολάριον Γεωργίου Λακαπηνοῦ–Ἀνδρονίκου Ζαρίδου καὶ ὁ ἰατρὸς–ἀκτουάριος Ἰωάννης Ζαχαρίας*, 53-55; on the Constantinopolitan properties see Patr.Reg.I 44, 308. See also Zakythinos, *op.cit.*, 215 n.2
[332]Dölger, *Paraspora*, 192

origin[333]. Another *sebastos*, the *tzaousios* Demetrios Tsogrebes founded a church in Lakonia in 1296/97[334].

The relations of the local lords with the empire were not always friendly, as shown by a revolt against the Despot Manuel Kantakouzenos, headed by Lampoudios, a local *dynatos* in 1349[335]. Perhaps the timing may not be irrelevant with the beginning of a new era, when the Peloponnese attracted the interest of the great aristocacy of the empire after the devastations and losses of territory elsewhere during the civil war. A special mention should perhaps be made to the families of *dynatoi* of Monembasia, Eudaimonoioanes, Mamonas and Sophianos[336]. They are known at that time mainly through the "Chronicle of the Morea", but after the middle of the fourteenth century they appear in the documents as prominent members of the aristocracy and merchants (particularly the Sophianoi). Before that and in spite of the silence of the sources, there is little doubt that they and their social group were the main beneficiaries of the privileges granted to the city by the emperors, as well as the group from which came the merchants of Monembasia mentioned in Italian documents[337]. The Eudaimonoioannes are obviously to be connected with the Laconian dynast of ca.1204.

The islands

The fragmentary information that we have about the empire's insular possessions does not give us a uniform picture[338]: in Lemnos, for example, we encounter predominantly the landed properties of imperial aristocrats living away from the island[339], and of great

333Patr.Reg.I 35, 276
334Kalopisi-Verti, *op.cit.*,81
335Kantak.III, 86-88
336Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée* II, 214. On their later activities, see Oikonomidès, *Hommes d' affaires*, 66-68, 121, n.264; Laiou, "Byzantine Economy", 201, 219, 221
337MM V, 154-161, 165-168, 170-175; *DVL*, 126-127, 181-185; on the Monemvasiot merchants see Laiou, "Byzantine Economy", 190, 205-208
338I have not been able to find any continuity with the aristocracy of the islands before the 13th c., investigated by E.Malamut, *Les îles de l' empire byzantin, VIIIe-XIIe siècles*, Paris 1988, vol.II, 494-506
339For example Theodora Kantakouzene for the period in question. In the second half of the 14th c. the information is much more abundant.

monasteries, while in Chios and Tenedos we encounter powerful local *dynatoi*[340]. Particularly interesting is the case of the two competing *dynatoi* of Chios, Leo Kalothetos and John Tzybos. Kalothetos was a hereditary *oikeios* of John Kantakouzenos, a relationship that may date as far back as the presence of both families in 13th century Asia Minor. In 1329 he was appointed governor of the island but was expelled from his post by Alexios Apokaukos in 1341 and replaced by John Tzybos. Both *dynatoi* appear to have had close relations with mineral-rich Old Phocaea, where Kalothetos this time replaced Tzybos as governor in 1348[341]. Both were heavily involved in trade: Tzybos traded in imported cloths with the Genoese, while Kalothetos attempted to transport grain and salt out of Phocaea in Venitian ships[342]. Kalothetos' activities included piracy and the kidnapping of Halil, son of sultan Orhan, whom he exchanged for a high ransom and the title of *panhypersebastos*, given to him by his former patron and now Orhan's ally, John Kantakouzenos.

E. *Conclusion: Patterns of geographical distribution and mobility*

Based on the above study, we can discern several axes of geographical mobility. I would distinguish two categories: mobility at a group level, following changing historical circumstances and mobility at an individual level, following changes in a person's social status. In the period under study mass movement of the first kind begins obviously with the outflux of aristocrats from Constantinople after the fall of the city to the Crusaders. Although most of the important aristocrats must have fled the city immediately in 1204, this exodus probably continued in subsequent years, as the impoverished Latin empire became unable to

[340]For example Pergamenos in Tenedos (Kantak.III, 276) or the Sebastos Constatine Prasinos in Chios (Patr.Reg.II **139**, 302-304)
[341]Patr.Reg.I **13**, 184; Kantak.I, 371ff; III, 83-85, 321-322; Greg. III, 504-505; MM III, 119
[342]K.-P.Matschke, "Notes on the Economic Establishment and Social Order of the Late Byzantine Kephalai" *BF* 19(1993), 140

hold in it those Greeks who at first might be willing to compromise with the new rulers[343]. The major destination of the fleeing Constantinopolitans was the Lascarid state in Asia Minor, although a minority went to the Western Greek state of the Doukai Komnenoi, in the aristocracy of which the locally rooted families and the semi-autonomous toparchs played a much larger role than in Asia Minor. In the same period we observe smaller patterns of movement, from the provinces that were conquered by the Franks or Bulgarians to the Byzantine centers (for example from Thessalonica or the Morea to Epeiros).

It is not possible to locate with precision the physical centers of the great aristocratic families in Asia Minor. On the other hand we have a more clear image of aristocratic families of middle and low status, residing in the cities of the area, like Smyrna or Philadelpheia. Parallel to the conquest of the European provinces began the expansion of the great aristocracy to those parts, where they held commands and governorships and acquired state-granted properties. The period after 1240 is also marked by a strong movement of aristocrats from the Western Despotate to the empire. The city of Thessalonica seems to have been an important pole of attraction for such people and many families of its middle-upper class originated with them.

We should not disregard a pattern of interchange taking place during the whole period at a very local level: in small geographical units there is a mobility of the local petty aristocrats, the *dynatoi* between various cities of the area. Such small units are the cities of the Strymon (Serrai, Melnik, Strumitza), those of Western Macedonia (Berroia, Edessa, Ohrid, Prilep, Kastoria et c.), or those in Epiros and Albania (Ioannina, Avlon et c.). Signs of this mobility are the presence of various members of the same families in those cities, or the dispersion of property ownership and political influence of an individual in several cities[344].

To return to the high aristocracy, after the restoration of the empire we begin to have a clearer image of that group. The general impression is that they are rootless: their properties,

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[343]See the example of the father of George Akropolites, Akrop.I, 46. Even if we do not believe that he wanted to leave the city himself, it is clear that he saw no future for his son there.

[344]Examples from the cases described earlier would be Dragotas, Tetragonites, Manklabites or Litoboes for Eastern Macedonia, Euripiotes or Lyzikos for Western Macedonia and Lykoudas in Epeiros

residences, families and servants are dispersed over several areas; one could even say that the more important someone was, the broader the area over which his properties would stretch[345]. Their personal lifestyle also exemplified this lack of a permanent geographical see: the sources present the men of the high aristocracy constantly moving between the court in Constantinople and the places where they held military commands or governorships. Their immediate family must have been following them, since in many cases we find those families settled in provincial cities. Still, Constantinople is the closest to a geographical center one could come, at least in terms of ideology. The behaviour of the aristocrats after the reconquest of 1261 as described by Pachymeres indicates that, for the great aristocratic families, the descendents of the Komnenoi, the City had never ceased to represent their real hometown. The Palaiologoi exemplify this attitude: in the panegyrics to Michael VIII and Andronikos II, the traditional passage about the recipient's city of origin is dedicated to Constantinople, although neither was born there[346]. Still, this role of the city as imaginary center of the aristocracy should not be exaggerated. Although some founded shrines and chose to be buried in the city, this was not a rule and there is no evidence that Constantinople had some particular position in the aristocrats' religious, ceremonial or family life.

The next great wave of transplantation was caused by the gradual Turkish conquest of Asia Minor, between 1270 and 1330 (the peak of the emigration is situated around 1305-1310[347]). Surprisingly, this great movement does not seem to have visibly affected the great aristocracy. Possibly most of these people had already gradually abandoned the Eastern provinces and their loss, though probably entailing financial damage, did not cause their uprooting. These events affected much more the petty aristocrats and the middle-upper class families of the Anatolian cities from which they came. Of course they also affected the *stratiotai*. There is ample information on immigrants from that social level, but, as we saw in

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[345]See the examples of John Kantakouzenos and Theodore Synadenos in Table III.
[346]For example the encomium of Gregory of Cyprus (ed. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca* I, 317ff) or the *Basilikos* of Maximos Planudes (ed. G.Westerink in *Byzantinoslavica* XXVIII (1967) 63ff)
[347]H.Ahrweiler, "La région de Philadélphie au XIVe siècle (1290-1390), dernier bastion de l'hellènisme en Asie Mineure", *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 1983, 189

the case of Thessalonica, which appears in our sources as their major destination together with Constantinople, few of these families give individuals of aristocratic status in the fourteenth century[348]. Indeed, most of the distinguished families from that city had their origins either in the city itself, or in the Western provinces. Other destinations of emigration from Asia Minor were the neighbouring areas: Thrace, as in the case of John Batatzes, the islands, as in the case of Kalothetos.

Parallel to the great movements of groups, we have the independent mobility of individuals. We can discern there two major poles: the provincial cities and their local aristocracy on the one hand and the "rootless" space of the high imperial aristocracy on the other. The direction from the first pole to the second was followed by those members of the urban *élites* who entered imperial service and made their way up through the hierarchy of offices and various commands and governorships. Examples of this may be the Kokalades and Maroulai of Thessalonica, or the Lyzikoi of Berroia. But there is also evidence for movement in the opposite direction, from the non-local center of the high aristocracy to the periphery of the provincial cities. We saw how families of the great aristocracy settled in cities, close to their properties and appointments. Many of them, like the Sarantenoi and the Soultanoi of Berroia, grew roots locally, founded shrines and intermarried with the local aristocracy. If their fortunes waned -something that was quite common in view of the great antagonism for offices and governorships- they could become absorbed into that group: a possible example could be Demetrios Asan in Thessalonica, married to the daughter of a Panaretos and whose own daughter married the cleric Michael Kontopetres[349].

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[348]I have preferred not to rely too heavily on the evidence of the simple successive occurrence of family names in Asia Minor and Thessalonica. Such examples, which may indicate movement, are Kydones, Lapardas, Margarites, Sgouropoulos, Pharissaios, Kallierges. In the latter's case, for instance, we know that he was a Philadelpheian "noble"(εὐγενής) who emigrated and died in Thessalonica (Manuel Gabalas, *Monody on Kallierges*, ed.Previale in *BZ* 41(1941) 22, 24). But we cannot make of all the Thessalonian Kalliergedes former Anatolians, since the name is extremely common, both in Thessalonica and in other areas, e.g. Crete (see PLP 10362-10367)

[349]Xérop.**26**, 193-196; **29**, 212

III. THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF THE ARISTOCRACY

In late Byzantium and until at least the middle of the fourteenth century the aristocracy was undoubtedly, together with the church and the large monasteries[1], the group that benefited from the overwhelming majority of the empire's economic resources and appropriated the largest part of the wealth generated within the empire (with the exception of trade-connected wealth, where the presence of Western European merchants loomed large). The peculiarity of the late Byzantine situation lies not so much in the comparativaly higher percentage of aristocratic wealth as part of the total wealth of the empire (a factor which is hard to calculate, anyway), as in the different relation between the economic role of the aristocracy and that of other agents: the lower social groups and the state.

The changes that occured gradually between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, leading to the late Byzantine system, were not simply quantitative (e.g. an increase of aristocratic landholding at the expense of small peasant property); above all, they were structural changes. The main element in these changes was the increasingly common practice of the state ceding its rights, both material (e.g. lands) and immaterial (e.g. the right to receive income from taxes), to individuals, with the lion's share going to the aristocracy. This practice reduced the income of the state and undoubtedly contributed to the impoverishment of the imperial treasury, although it should be noted that it was combined with a drastic reduction of the expenses of the state mechanism. At the same time, however, the crown acquired a new and very important role, as the regulator of the distribution of the empire's wealth among the dominant class[2]. In order, therefore, to understand the nature of aristocratic property in the

[1]It should be observed here that we hear very little in this period about non-monastic properties of the church (e.g. estates of metropoleis or even of the Great Church, so prominent in the preceding century, are almost absent from late Byzantine documents). As for the monasteries, only the largest among them were the recipients of grants directly from the emperors and even then these grants accounted for only part of their total possessions. Leaving aside a percentage coming from donors of non-aristocratic status, the majority of the properties of monasteries came from the donations of aristocratic patrons. Therefore the importance of monastic properties in this period does not detract from, but rather emphasizes the role of the aristocracy as the dominant economic factor of the empire.

[2]A.Kazhdan,"State, Feudal and Private Economy in Byzantium", *DOP* 47(1993), 95-100, has argued that even in earlier periods the state had been the ultimate owner and regulator of the distribution of the empire's

late Byzantine period and to estimate its implications for the social and political realities of the time, it is necessary to turn to the question of the economic relationship between the aristocracy and the state.

More specifically, we will try to evaluate the relative importance of state-originating resources as part of aristocratic property: were they of major importance, or were they just complementing property acquired by inheritance, purchase and other ways of transmission of a "private" nature? A related issue is that of the conditions accompanying state grants to individuals. If the resources granted were assimilated to private property, then the issue of their origin loses much of its importance. If, on the contrary, it can be shown that the state maintained some degree of control over the properties that it alienated, then the question acquires more complex dimensions. It should be emphasized that the official clauses and terms contained in state grants are not sufficient to provide the answer. We should not underestimate the factor of arbitrary state intervention, even against the terms set by the state itself. Naturally, a degree of arbitrariness is inherent in the nature of state authority, particularly in pre-modern societies, but in our case we may have to do with a situation where arbitrary behavior on the part of the state was "normal" and occured regularly, rather than exceptional, and therefore a factor that should be seriously taken into consideration in order to understand how the system of state grants functioned in reality. Another factor to be taken into consideration consists in practices of the aristocracy that are not directly related to the state, particularly practices concerning the transmission and administration of property. If such practices could assure the stability and integrity of aristocratic holdings, then the aristocracy would have a basis of economic power that would be, in part at least, independent

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wealth, particularly of landed properties. This theory is in part based on the state's power to take away properties arbitrarily. It rests, therefore, on a distinction between theoretical/legal notions of ownership and reality. Whether one accepts this view or not, it should be made clear that the role of the state in the late period is something different, since its "regulatory role" occurs in the theoretical/legal sphere, as well as in reality. The rights of the state over properties that had been granted through documents of concession, under specified restrictions in the mode of transmission and under certain obligations on the part of the recipient, were not the same as its rights over properties that were held under full ownership, as it was defined by law in the middle period, even if one accepts that in actual practice the state had similar powers in the two cases. Of course in the late period as well it is imperative to look beyond legal clauses and to take into account arbitrariness and unofficial practice.

from the mechanisms of the state. On the other hand, if aristocratic holdings were characterized by instability and fragility, the role of the state as an agent controlling the perpetuation of the economic basis of aristocratic families becomes much more crucial.

State-originating grants were the most important, but not the only way through which the aristocracy could appropriate part of the empire's public wealth. A considerable role was held by the "unofficial" income connected with the exercise of public office in the central or provincial administration. Since the end of the eleventh century, the system of state grants had replaced the "roga", the traditional yearly salary of state servants. That salary, however, as well as the grants that took its place, only represented part of the real income of state functionaries, who, from the fiscal officials to the provincial governors and from the notaries to the heads of the administrative departments obtained various profits from the exercise of their functions[3]. This should not be necessarily identified as corruption, since it is not certain that it was anything but an expected part of the system of public administration. On the other hand, it is impossible to calculate with any precision the amounts involved, or even the relative importance of this category of income.

In order to reach conclusions about this major issue, that is, the role of the state in the distribution and transmission of aristocratic property, it is necessary to examine all the kinds of economic resources available to aristocrats and try to evaluate their relative importance. The following discussion will try to examine in what the economic basis of the aristocracy consisted, as well as the mechanisms of acquisition and transmission. Various kinds of economic activity will be discussed separately. In the process, we should keep in mind the heterogeneous composition of the group described earlier as "the aristocracy". Among other factors, the nature of the relation to the crown was very different for the high and the low aristocracy and an attempt will be made to evaluate its importance for each aristocratic subgroup.

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[3]On the various demands that were imposed on the taxpayers in favor of state officials see N.Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité et exemtpion fiscale à Byzance (IXe-XIe s.)*, Athens 1996 (hereafter Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité*), 86-97.

Land-based property

The largest part of most aristocrats' wealth came in the form of resources connected with the land and with agricultural production. Before discussing the major issue of the origin of these resources and the role of the state, we will try to examine more precisely in what these resources consisted. Generally speaking, the great landed property in late Byzantium was founded upon three major modes of exploitation. The first was the appropriation of the taxes of peasants, who owned and cultivated small plots of land. Since this income belonged by right to the state, it was only through an imperial grant that a private individual could become a beneficiary of it. In theory such grants at first only concerned fiscal income and did not change the status of the tax-payers[4]. In practice, however, peasants who were assigned to pay their taxes to the beneficiary of an imperial grant were gradually assimilated to dependent peasants -"paroikoi"- and were burdened with additional obligations, such as corvées and customary gifts, while the "lord", if we may use this term, acquired special rights on the property of the paroikoi, such as the right to inherit childless *paroikoi* under certain circumstances[5], or to acquire abandoned lands. Although this form of exploitation has received the most attention, because of its implications about the transition to a feudal economy, it was not the only one. A landowner could also directly own land or other resources, in which case he had the option of leasing them out to tenants or exploiting them directly, through the corvées due by his paroikoi or through hired labour.

In many cases these three categories would coexist forming a single unit of property. An examplary case is the *praktikon* by which a cadastral official attributed to a certain monk Kallinikos the imperial grant of one-third of the income from the village Mamitzon, equal to 145 hyp./year, calculated in the form of fiscal income[6]. The income can be broken down as follows:

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[4]Anyone with a fiscal liability could be assigned to pay taxes to an individual instead of the state. See for example Guillou, *Ménécée*, 99, where the monastery of the Asomatoi, belonging to the metropolis of Serrai, had to pay taxes to an *oikeios* of the emperor.

[5]A. Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire. A Social and Demographic Study*, Princeton 1977 (hereafter Laiou, *Peasant Society*), 187-188

[6]Chil. 92, 194-198

The income of Kallinikos from Mamitzon

1. The basic *telos* paid by the paroikoi for their holdings:	67.25 hyp.	46.4%
2.Various *epiteleiai*[7]:	2.75 hyp.	1.9%
3. The *aer*[8]:	3 hyp.	2 %
4. Dues from mills:	10 hyp.	6.9%
5. *Ennomion* and dues from prairies	8 hyp.	5.5%
6. Directly exploited land, corresponding to a *telos* of	24 hyp.	16.6%
7. Land to be rented out, corresponding to a *telos* of	30 hyp.	20.7%
Total income	145 hyp.	100%

We see that 91 hyp./year (62.7%) would come from the taxes and various other dues, not including the customary gifts; 24 hyp./year (16.6%) would come from land directly exploited through corvées, while 30 hyp./year (20.7%) would come from land rented out to tenants. It should be noted, however, that the above figures do not represent the real income collected by the beneficiary, since the sums of money corresponding to the arable land that he will lease and directly exploit represent the corresponding *telos* (that the landlord does not have to pay) and not actual income from the cultivation or renting of the land. If we suppose that the real income from the rented land was 120 hyp./year and from the directly exploited land 114 hyp./year[9], then the whole income of Kallinikos' grant amounts to 325 hyp./year and the proportion is 28% from taxes and various dues, 35% from directly exploited land and 37% from rent. In other words, the importance of income of a fiscal nature was in this case

[7]The word can mean various things (cf.*ODB* s.v."Epiteleia"). Apparetly here it is tax for properties that used to belong to villagers of Mamitzon, but were acquired by outsiders (as are all the owners mentioned in the document). Since the properties were still fiscally part of the *chorion* Mamitzon, their tax could be granted, like the rest.

[8]A supplementary tax: see *ODB* s.v. "Aerikon"

[9]For these very tentative calculations I have used the model proposed by A. Laiou, "The Agrarian Economy, 13th-15th Centuries" in A.Laiou, ed., *The Economic History of Byzantium* (in preparation) (hereafter Laiou, "Agrarian Economy"): it assumes that 5/8 of the land would be cultivated each year and the average yield would be 1:4.8 (one modios of land corresponds to one modios of grain sown). In the case of rented land the proprietor receives 1/3 of the gross product, while in the case of directly exploited land the proprietor receives all of the production minus next year's seed. For the market price of grain, I have used the lowest figure, 0.08 hyp./modios of grain. If A is the arable land in modioi, the formula for the income if the land is rented is [(A x 5/8 x 4.8) - A]: 3 x 0.08

secondary to the income from the land, whether it was exploited directly or rented to tenants.

The entire arable land included in the *praktikon* was ca. 3,911 modioi. About 46.3% (ca.1,811 modioi) belonged to the peasants, who exploited it and paid taxes for it, 38.3 % (1,500 m.) was rented out to tenants and 15.3% (600 m.) was to be directly exploited by Kallinikos through corvées[10]. Vineyards or gardens belonged exclusively to the peasants. Mills and grazing fields were presumably communal property, but Kallinikos, as the lord of a third of the village had the right to collect one third of the dues paid by the peasants for their use. In other words, only about half of the arable land and an even smaller proportion of the total agricultural land of the village belonged to the lord.

Of course, nothing permits us to consider the proportions in the praktikon of Kallinikos as generally representative of great landholding in this period. In the case of some large monasteries, it has been calculated that the lands of the paroikoi, especially arable land, represent a much smaller percentage of the whole, compared with the land of the "lord", whether the latter be directly exploited or leased. Thus, in the case of Hilandar in 1300, peasant holdings represented about 16%of the total arable land exploited by the monastery, whereas in the case of Zographou in 1320, they represented only 8%[11]. In terms of income the figures would be 13.9% (Hilandar) and 8.9% (Zographou) of the estimated total income of the lord (including income from vineyards and gardens)[12].

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[10]As it can be seen by comparing the two last categories of land to the corresponding *telos* (30 hyp./1,500 m. and 24 hyp./600 m.), the fiscal imposition of the land that is to be exploited through forced labour is 1hyp./24 m., twice as much as the imposition of the land that is to be leased. This had already perplexed Ostrogorsky in G.Ostrogorskij, *Pour l' histoire de la féodalité byzantine*, Brussels 1956 (hereafter Ostrogorskij, *Féodalité*), 299, who thought, however, that the figures concerned actual revenue from the land (see the correction of Laiou, "Agrarian Economy"). The different rate probably reflects the different profitability of the land in the two cases. It is unclear, however, which factor counted most for the cadastral officials, the quality of the land or the mode of exploitation. The quality of the land was traditionally taken into consideration by the fisc and in the case of Mamitzon it is specified that the land in question is of the best quality. Still, in order to account for so big a difference in the rates we would have to accept that the land that was rented was really of second quality. I think it very possible that the fisc in this period was taking into account the mode of exploitation as well, although this would be an innovation. After all, the mode of exploitation was determined by the document of the grant, therefore it was known.
[11]Ostrogorskij, *Féodalité*, 298. See also *ODB* s.v. "Demesne".
[12]I have made the change from fiscal to real revenue using the formula described above and assuming that all of the landlord's lands would be leased out to tenants.

Those monastic examples may or may not be indicative of the composition of the landed property of great aristocrats. Table III presents a partial survey of landed aristocratic properties, partial because it omits several cases where we know nothing about the extent or the nature of the property[13]. Since in the great majority of cases our information concerns only a small part of an aristocrat's properties, the table cannot serve as the basis for a quantitative analysis. An obvious first conclusion is that aristocratic exploitation of the land could come in any of the three forms described above (through taxes, rent or direct exploitation). In some cases it is clear that an imperial grant to an aristocrat consisted of more than one of these forms: for example the "bonus" of 55 hyp./year given in 1342 to John Margarites consisted of ca.25 hyp. from taxes of paroikoi and 30 hyp. in the form of income from lands[14]. Of course this ratio concerns only the "bonus" and does not tell us anything about Margarites' total landholding, or even his *oikonomia*. It appears, however, that in most cases when the state was ceding a *pronoia*, the *apographeis* who determined its exact composition tried to ensure that at least half would consist in taxes from paroikoi and the rest would be income from land or other resources[15]. One explanation that has been proposed (see n.584) is that lands were relatively easy for the state to procure, but they would be useless if they were not matched by a sufficient number of paroikoi, who, apart from paying their taxes, would provide corvée and would also cultivate the beneficiary's lands as tenants. In practice, though, it seems that it was difficult for the censors to find enough paroikoi to match the required quota: this was complemented by extra lands, given *anti oikoumenou* (=in place of the "oikoumenon", the peasant tax), and calculated at about 2/3 of their normal fiscal

[13]I have restricted the survey to persons whose status is deemed aristocratic according to the criteria presented earlier. Of course the discussion of the issue of land ownership has to include data concerning non-aristocrats. Table III should be complemented by the list of *stratiotai* in M.Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army. Arms and Society 1204-1453*, Philadelphia 1992(hereafter Bartusis, *Late Byzantine Army*, Appendix A, 369-380 and by the list of lay landowners in the themes of Thessalonica and Strymon betw. 1250-1350 in Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society*, Appendix I, 300-304
[14]Lemerle, "Praktikon de Karakala", 281-285
[15]As argued below, the figures of the concession documents refer to the tax corresponding to the land and not to the income from it. Therefore, according to the practice of the fiscal officials, it is the tax that the lord was getting from the peasants and the tax corresponding to his lands (and that he was *not* paying to the state) that should be approximately equal. The real income from the land, that was not estimated in the concession document, would naturally be considerably higher.

worth[16]. Although the need to assure a sufficient work force may explain, in most instances, the existence of this quota, we observe that in some cases, that of John Margarites for example, the tax-paying paroikoi were in different locations from the land and cannot have been intended to form the work-force that would cultivate it.

Here we are presented with the same question: is the income given for the lands really a fiscal figure, as in the case of Mamitzon, and if so what might the real income be? The question is important in order to determine the income of landowners and the importance of the landed properties of the aristocracy. It appears that indeed, the situation is parallel to Mamitzon: in the case of Margarites, 1,000 m. of land, formerly the property of John Kantakouzenos, are valued at 50 m./hyp., a standard land/tax ratio. The problem here is that the author of the document specifies that this rate applies "because the land is marshy and prairieland"[17], as if to mean that this rate was unusually low. Perhaps, as we have seen, it was low for land that was not meant to be rented but to be directly exploited. In the same document, 550 m. of land correspond to 7 hyp. "anti oikoumenou". Since land ceded "anti oikoumenou" was normally calculated at 2/3 of its fiscal worth, in this case we see again the rate of 50 m./hyp., the standard tax rate, and can therefore conclude that the amount included in the "praktikon" described the theoretical fiscal income and not the real income from the land.

In the few other cases where the documents give us the correspondence between a piece of land and the part of the *posotes* (the total amount granted) that it represents, we encounter the same ratio: the *oikonomia* of George Katzaras consisted of 2,400 m., corresponding to 48 hyp./year (there is no mention of paroikoi)[18]. In the *praktikon* of the

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[16]N.Oikonomidès, "Notes sur un praktikon de proniaire (Juin 1323)", *TM* 5(1973), 340-344. Although the grant to Margarites is not really a pronoia, it is a parallel case and most of the properties ceded had been parts of other people's pronoiai.
[17]Lemerle, *op.cit.*, 285:" γῆ...μοδίων χιλίων εἰς ὑπέρπυρα εἴκοσι, διὰ τὸ εἶναι ταύτην βαλτώδη καὶ λιβαδιαῖαν"
[18]Doch. 27, 188

stratiotes Manuel Berilas, 2,000 m. are counted for 40 hyp./year[19]. Another part of the same *oikonomia*, a piece of land of 2,500 m., was evaluated at 37 hyp./year (rate: 67.5m./hyp.) but this again corresponds to standard fiscal practice, since the land was of second and third quality[20]. In the *praktika* of two other *stratiotai* we also encounter the rate of 1/50: in the *praktikon* of Michael Sabentzes land plots of 800, 600, 300 and 400 modioi correspond to 16, 12, 6 and 8 hyp./year respectively[21]; in that of Nicholas Maroules we have the correspondence 450 m-9 hyp. and 1,600 m.-32 hyp.[22]

The above cases, with the exception of Margarites, concern soldiers' pronoiai. The evidence concerning aristocrats is even more limited: in the description of a part of the *oikonomia* of the eparch Michael Senachereim Monomachos (not a *stratiotes* but a military man nevertheless), which was ceded to him as hereditary property, 575 m. are counted for 7 hyp. "anti oikoumenou". Since the land is given "anti oikoumenou", it is counted for 2/3 of the normal, which in that case would be 10.5 hyp.. The rate is 1 hyp./54.7 m.. The information cannot be considered very accurate, since this land included not only arable fields, but also marshland (unproductive) and gardens (more highly productive). It does, however, indicate that we have to do with a theoretical fiscal income and not with real income[23].

A case apart is the estate that Theodora Palaiologina sold in 1325 to the tsar of Bulgaria[24]. From the properties examined here, it is the only one that is clearly of a non-military nature. We do not know the extent of the land, but we know that it corresponded to a *posotes* of 300 hyp./year and was sold for 3,000 hyp.. We do not know exactly the value of

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[19]P.Screiner, "Zwei unedierte Praktika aus der zweiten Halfte des 14. Jahrhunderts", *JÖB* 19(1970), p.38, ll.23-24, corrected by N.Oikonomidès, "Notes sur un praktikon de proniaire", p.336, n.4 (τεσσαράκοντα instead of τέσσαρα)

[20]Schreiner, *loc.cit.*, l. 28. According to a 13th century fiscal treatise from Cyprus (?) known as "Apokope ton psomion" second-quality land was taxed at a rate of 100 m./hyp., but probably in fourteenth-century Macedonia the practices were different. The "Apokope" has been published by Th.Uspenskij, "Vizantiiskie Zemlemery", *Trudy VI. Archeologicheskago siezda v Odesse*, II (Odessa, 1888), 302-308. The title has been corrected into "Apokope ton psephion" by A. Laiou, "Agrarian Economy".

[21]Xénoph.15, 139-140

[22]Xénoph.16, 142-144

[23]Zogr.XXIX, 70-71

[24]Zogr.XXII, 48-50

land in that period. For best quality land we have two figures from earlier theoretical treatises, 1 hyp./modios in the eleventh century and 0.57 hyp./modios in the thirteenth[25]. Deducing the extent of the land on the basis of these figures, we get 3,000 m., or 5,263 m. respectively. If we compare them to the *posotes,* we get a rate of 10m./hyp. or 17m./hyp., both impossibly high for tax rates. In order to get the usual tax rate of 50 m./hyp. we would have to accept that the land was priced at 0.20 hyp./modios, a somewhat low price (admittedly, we do not know the quality of the land). Other cases that mention land prices offer wildly varying information and are not of much help here[26]. In any case, we should keep in mind that the *posotes* might also have included paroikoi and other resources. Therefore all these calculations are highly fragile[27].

The cases discussed above show that, at least in the case of lands ceded by the state to military servants, the figure that these lands represent in the total *posotes* is a fiscal figure (i.e. the corresponding tax, that will not be paid) and not the real income from the land, which would be quite higher. Unfortunately it is not always possible to calculate this income, even in the approximative way used for Mamitzon. To begin with, we do not know whether these lands would be rented or directly exploited, at least in part. If we might generalize from the unique case of Mamitzon and conclude that the tax rate of 1/50 applies only to leased and not to directly exploited land, then we could state that, in small grants like those cited above, domanial lands were exclusively leased to tenants (there is no mention of corvées in these praktika). This is a very perilous train of thought though. The land described is not always arable land of the same quality: it might include marshlands and pastures, as in the cases of Margarites and Monomachos. Finally, a considerable part of these lands were given "anti oikoumenou". The fact that these lands were estimated at a lower rate is possibly an

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[25] 11th C. treatise in J.Lefort et al., *Géométries du fisc byzantin*, Paris 1991, 62; the "apokope ton psomion", 304-305

[26] See J.-C. Cheynet, E. Malamut, C. Morisson, "Prix et salaires à Byzance (Xe-XVe siècle)" in V.Kravari, J.Lefort, C.Morisson (edd.), *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin*, t.II, Paris 1991, p.345ff., table 4.

[27] Zogr.XXII, 49. It appears that the estate of Palaiologina did not include the entire village of Prevista, since the monastery of Zographou already owned part of it : ibid. XVI, 37-38 (which should probably be redated in the thirteenth century, on the basis of what we know about John Apelmene and of the mention of the sebastocrator (John Palaiologos in 1259?))

indication that the cadastral officials did not expect that the beneficiaries would find the human resources necessary for their full exploitation. Still, it appears that income from demesne land represented the most important part of the total income of these lords: in the case of Sabentzes the various taxes brought him 13 hyp./year, various other dues and incomes 25.3 hyp./year, whereas the renting of his lands could bring something like 168 hyp./year[28]. In the case of Berilas the ratio is even more extreme: all other income (taxes, dues, etc.) totals 18.8 hyp. whereas the lands ceded to him could bring something less than 360 hyp./year[29]. For Maroules, the combined other income was ca. 37 hyp./year, while his lands could bring perhaps 164 hyp./year[30]. Interestingly, for Monomachos, the only aristocrat among these examples, the proportions are of a different scale: 39 hyp. would come from various taxes, 4.5 hyp. corresponded to escheat properties, 68 hyp. came from various other resources (such as fishing rights). The income from his 575 modioi of land cannot be calculated with any accuracy, since these were mixed lands of high and low productivity, but it should not have been higher than 46 hyp./year[31]. Of course this ratio concerns only a small portion of his *oikonomia* and does not tell us anything about properties that he must have possessed outside the *oikonomia*.

The preceding discussion shows that it is not possible to give any precise statistics on the relative importance of domanial arable land (whether directly exploited or leased to paroikoi) in aristocratic holdings, but we can say that in small military-type grants it represented by far the most important part of the total income (at least in the examples of

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[28]I used the calculation described above (note 577), but the factors presented here call for caution. M. Bartusis, *Late Byzantine Army*, 173, using a different calculation, gives a conservative estimate of 105 hyp./year for this property. Bartusis' method is to estimate first the possible rent, using the figure of 1 hyp./10 modioi, occasionally attested in this period, and then to divide the possible rent by half, in order to give a secure minimum (since it is not certain that all of the land was under cultivation at all times). Bartusis thinks that the lord would also collect various other customary charges, but since there is no explicit mention of them in these praktika, I prefer to leave them out of the calculation.

[29]The figure is probably too high, since not all of the land was first quality. Bartusis, *loc.cit.*, calculates a minimum income from rent of 192.5 hyp.

[30]102.5 minimum according to Bartusis, *loc.cit.*

[31]I use the same calculation, assuming that the higher income from the gardens roughly makes up for the unproductive lands. Of course, if Monomachos ever made meliorations, the corresponding income would rise. I assume that the gardens, requiring year-round care, could not be cultivated through corvée but must have been rented out.

which we have knowledge). For types of property other than those military-type grants we may use the indications from a few cases of testamentary (or quasi-testamentary) grants, where we can trust that almost the entirety of an aristocrat's resources is represented.

The first case is that of George Melissenos (1284), a *tzaousios*, who, shortly before his death, donated to the monastery of Lembos a substantial part of his properties[32]. Another case concerns Kosmas Pankalos, former *Sebastos* and then a monk[33]. The document enumerates the properties that he brings as *prosenexis* to his monastery; these probably represent all that he owned at the moment, but we may suspect that before that he had already distributed part of his possessions to members of his family. Then there is the series of documents (1324-1338) concerning the properties of the *Skouterios* Theodore Sarantenos, including his testament[34]. Sarantenos can be considered as a representative low-ranking military official; at any rate, from all the cases where we have more or less complete information about one's properties, Sarantenos is the most prominent socially. To the above we could add the testament of the monk Theodosios Skaranos[35] (ca.1270-1274) who does not bear any mark of distinction but seems to have had some sort of relationship with the emperors when he was a layman (probably he had been a high-ranking *stratiotes*). The nature of his property (especially the state origin of part of it) approaches it to the aristocratic possessions mentioned above, unlike that of the other testament that we have from the period, that of Theodore Karabas[36], whom I am not including in the survey[37]. Again, the indications

[32]MM IV, 266-267; document CLXX is just a donation, not the testament mentioned in the beginning of the next document, but since Melissenos died within two months (the donation took place in October and he is dead by December) the content of the two documents must have been similar. The monastery was not the only beneficiary of Melissenos' testament, but from the description ("τὴν γονικὴν ἡμῶν κλῆρον") it appears that these properties must have represented the largest part of his possessions.
[33]Kutlumus **8**, 51-52
[34]Theocharides, *Diatheke*, 9-36
[35]Xérop.**9**, 79-87; on the property of Skaranos, see J.Lefort, "Une exploitation de taille moyenne au XIIIe siècle en Chalcidique", *Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Νίκο Σβορῶνο*, Rhethymno 1986, vol.I, 362-372.
[36]Chil.**27**, 59-64. Karabas was not an aristocrat (in his case we may be certain, since, unlike Skaranos, Karabas was not a monk and he would have indicated in his signature any mark of distinction that he might have possessed). There is no indication that any of his properties originated as grant from the state.
[37]Another possible case would be Goudeles Tyrannos (MM IV, 285-287) who gives a group of properties as "prosenexis" to Lembos in 1294. Although this seems to represent most of what he owned at the time, it is likely that the properties of a once prominent commander (Akrop. I, 90) must have been much larger and

from the above documents are not uniform: the property of Skaranos is exclusively agricultural (mainly arable land [270 m.], vineyards [40 m.]and some fruit-trees). In the "klera" of Melissenos, arable land (300 m.) represents an important part while vineyards are less important, in terms of the space they occupy (12 m.). However, in this case buildings (whose value is not known) seem to form a prominent element, while we also encounter a non-negligible amount of livestock (100 sheep, apart from the animals connected with the cultivation of the land). The pattern is not very different in the case of Pankalos: arable land is the most important element (1,050 m.), vineyards are comparatively less important (>14 stremmata) and there seems to have been a considerable investment in buildings. There is no mention of cattle-raising.

The testament of Sarantenos revals an even greater predominance of arable land (ca. 5,860 m., not all of it cultivated). There were a few vineyards (45 m. at the time of the testament), while livestock raising appears to have been an important activity in the estates of that aristocrat (300 sheep, 20 buffaloes, 25 cows, 25 horses and mares, not including an unknown number of animals that he kept for his own use). His properties also included an important amount of pastureland and woodland, which Sarantenos must have probably exploited charging the peasants for their use.

The broad picture that we get from the remaining information, which concerns isolated parts of aristocratic properties, is also one of mixed agricultural properties, where arable land figures prominently. Most of the land seems to have consisted of medium-sized units, around 1,000 modioi. We hear of few units larger than 2,000m. The largest piece of land that we encounter is that of Alexios Metochites, whose extent was 13,000 m., but this is an isolated figure[38]. The units coming immediately after that in magnitude are not larger than 4,000 modioi[39]. Most of the information comes from Chalkidike and from the valley of the

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probably the bulk of them were already given away (of course a disgrace and loss of property under the Palaiologoi should not be excluded)

[38]Regel, *Batopediou*, 27

[39]Two adjacent *zeugelateia* of Sarantenos totaled 5,200 m., of which more than 1,000 were woodland and another part was pastureland. The land of a certain Sgouropoulos, *sebastos* from Thessalonica was 3,550 m., while the *zeugelateion* of Agape Angelina was ca. 3,400 m.

Strymon river. Although the topography is slightly different in the two cases (Chalkidike is a rough, hilly area, where one would expect small parcels of land to be more common) this does not affect the size of arable units in any evident way (the large field of Metochites, for example was located in the peninsula of Kassandra, in Chalkidike). It should be remembered, however, that our information allows only a very faint glimpse at the properties of the greatest aristocrats, which may have included vast parcels of land about which we have no information.

Vineyards very often complemented the income from the arable land. Their small size, however, compared to the total holdings, does not allow us to say with certainty that the aristocratic landowners were seriously involved in wine-production. A comparison can be made with Theodore Karabas, a non-aristocrat who was so involved: Karabas owned ca. 70 modioi of vineyards -more than any lay landowner that we know of- and his property included many items connected to wine-making, such as barrels. No comparable exploitation is witnessed for our aristocratic landowners, although this may be due to the nature of our sources, where movable property is very rarely mentioned. Perhaps aristocratic lords were content with renting out their vineyards to tenants and occasionally profiting from the ownership of the wine-press as well[40]. It should be noted that in the case of the Athonite monasteries vineyards were only a small part of their total holdings[41], yet the monasteries were involved in wine trade[42]. Possibly they sold the wine of their tenants, as well as the wine produced by their own vineyards. Such activities should not be excluded in the case of the lay aristocrats, but there is no evidence about them.

Gardens and orchards also seem to have played a role complementary to that of arable land. These properties were often situated inside or near the urban centers since they required

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[40]A wine-press was included among the buildings of Pankalos (Kutlumus, 52, l.16).
[41]Ostrogorskij, *Féodalité*, 298: Zographou in 1300 owned 30 m. of vineyards as opposed to 1,225 m. of land, whereas Hilandar owned ca.43 m. of vineyards and 13,800m. of arable land.
[42]See Lavra I 67, a document of 1196: the monks went to court in order to secure their *ateleia* for their ships that sailed to Constantinople trading in wine.

less space and their produce was easily perishable and had therefore to be close to the final consumers[43].

A different case is that of olive trees. We only encounter them in Asia Minor without much information as to the means of their exploitation[44]. Olive trees do not require year-round care; presumably it would be more profitable for an owner to hire labourers (household servants or corvée labour could also conceivably be employed) once a year to collect the fruit and occasionally prune the trees, than to lease the olive fields to tenants.

As has been seen already, certain landowners would draw income by charging dues for the use of pasturelands and forests: Michael Komnenos Branas had a long-standing quarrel with the monks of Lembos who refused to pay for use of "his mountain [...]for wood-cutting and pasture"[45]. The grants to Demetrios Mourinos in 1280/1 included a winter pasture in Kassandra, as well as a property (*topos*) with pastures (*nomai*) and transhumant herders (*planetes*). However, the document does not mention cattle and Mourinos' other properties were not in that area. Therefore his income would probably have been in the form of fees charged for use of the lands by others[46]. The properties of Theodore Sarantenos included pasturelands and woods, but also livestock of his own.

It appears that cattle-raising was an important economic activity for many aristocrats, including some high-ranking ones: the *protovestiarios* Andronikos Palaiologos had flocks of sheep outside Berrhoia and their numbers must have been memorable enough for the historian to note their theft by Bulgarian mercenaries[47]. Sphrantzes, the murderer of Syrgiannes, owned cattle around Thessalonica[48]. The most impressive piece of information is of course the famous passage in Kantakouzenos where the author enumerates the livestock

[43]Examples include the gardens of Andronikos Palaiologos in Vodena (Lavra III, 103); the orchards of Maria Akropolitissa in Constantinople (MM I, 312); the garden of Theodora Kantakouzene in Serrhai (Kutlumus, 87); Angelos Senachereim in Vodena (Regel, *Batopediou*, 17)
[44] For example MM IV, 76, 98-99, 103, 114, 122
[45]Ibid., 181, 274
[46]Doch.9, 108
[47]Kantak.I, 275-276
[48]Greg.I, 498

that he possessed before the civil war[49]. The huge numbers (see table) are hard to believe: one is under the impression that Kantakouzenos, writing at a time of total ruin of the empire's agricultural resources, plays on his audience's vague memories of a prosperous, pre-civil war past. In any case, even if we accept only a tenth of the figures given, we still have to do with an important exploitation. Above all, it should be remarked that when a high aristocrat wanted to give the measure of his great wealth he did not give figures about his lands or his fiscal income (Kantakouzenos must certainly have had accurate figures for these) but he enumerated his livestock. We do not have figures for the price of cattle in that period, but it is obvious that an exploitation at this scale must have been extremely profitable. On the other hand, the empire's resources in livestock were the ones most heavily depleted by the adversities of the fourteenth century[50] and must have been an uncertain investment, unless they were scattered in many different places, as Kantakouzenos' undoubtedly were.

It is hard to tell whether most aristocrats actively invested in improving the productive capacity of their properties or were content with collecting rents and dues without much participation in the process of agricultural production. There are various general references to meliorations in the sources and it was one of the rights that could accompany imperial grants. But from our survey it appears that few were the cases where aristocratic involvement with the property manifested itself in ways beyond buying-and-selling strategies. Some owners would build units such as mills or wine-presses on their properties[51]. These, however, were not so much attempts to intervene in the production process, as they were means of extracting further dues from the peasants who would be using them. That these were mainly seen as an independent source of income appears both from the case of Doukopoulos, who made an isolated donation of his mill, and from that of Sarantenos, who, after endowing with the rest

[49]Kantak. II, 185

[50]See the example of the flocks of the villagers of Gomatou, in Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society*, 174: from 1,131 sheep and goats in 1301 the number had dropped to 10 animals in 1341, even before the big civil war!

[51]Peter Doukopoulos built a mill on the land of his pronoia (Iviron III **66**, 128-129). Theodore Sarantenos had built three mills in one of his *zeugelateia* (Theocharides, *Diatheke*, 22). Kosmas Pankalos had built an oven-house (*mankipeion*) and a wine-press on his properties (Kutlumus **8**, 52)

of his estates his monastic foundation, kept three mills that were on them "for his sustenance".

This kind of exploitative investment in buildings of communal use could take very original forms and extend beyond means of production. The most extreme instance comes from early thirteenth-century Epiros, where a local lord built his own church, which he named "stauropegiac" (i.e. independent from the local bishop) and forced the peasants to attend it, collecting for himself all the profits until the ecclesiastical authorities intervened[52]. Of course something like that -reminding of much earlier developments in Western Europe- could only have occured in that particular time and place (and even then it ultimately failed), but in its motivation it did not differ much from the construction of mills and other facilities that we encounter in later sources.

There are instances where aristocratic landowners really invest in meliorations: Kosmas Pankalos planted three gardens and a vineyard around the church complex that he built, on land that was apparently uncultivated before ("ἐκκλησιαστοτόπος"-land set aside for building of a church)[53]. John Philanthropenos spent a considerable amount of money attempting to improve the lands of the monastery that he bought: he put them into cultivation, planted a vineyard and built water-mills[54]. One notices that in both cases the active involvement of the landowners is concentrated around a pious foundation, which they try to organize as a self-supporting unit. I would doubt that they expected any personal long-term profit from that: these were very likely acts of piety and do not necessarily represent the economic mentality of the aristocratic group. I have not found any evidence from this period about aristocratic landowners investing with the clear long-term aim of increasing their future income.

52Chom., 343
53Kutlumus 8, 52
54Patr.Reg.I 93, 530

Next to income from rent and the direct exploitation of the land, fiscal income from peasants was the other major kind of agrarian exploitation on the part of the aristocrats. It is difficult to reach a general conclusion on its function and importance. The complexities of the late Byzantine system of taxation have been extensively studied and there is not much that can be added here[55]. In general, the taxes paid by a group of peasants could be granted by the state to a beneficiary alongside other state-owned resources. The total amount (*posotes*) was fixed by an imperial document while its exact composition would be determined in a *praktikon* drawn up by a fiscal official. The paroikoi who would pay taxes could also provide the manpower for the cultivation of the lord's domanial lands, but this was not a general rule, as we saw in the case of the grants to George and John Margarites, where the tax-paying paroikoi were not in the same locations as the pieces of land. It should also be noted that the taxes assigned to a landlord did not necessarisly have to come from peasants: if the taxable properties were acquired by someone else, such as a monastery, the new owner would still be liable to pay the tax. Thus we see that a certain Preakotzelos received taxes for a piece of land that belonged to the monastery of the Asomatoi[56]. In another case Peter Doukopoulos donated to Iviron a mill that he owned, but not the tax for the land on which it had been built. Since the tax was part of his pronoia grant, he granted alleviation to the monastery for as long as he lived, but warned that the right to collect the tax would pass to someone else after his death and the monastery would have to pay it, unless it obtained a new alleviation[57].

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[55]Among the most important discussions are K.Hvostova, *Osobennosti agrarnopravovych otnoshenij v pozdnej Vizantii, XIV-XV vv.* (Moscow 1968); J.Lefort, "Fiscalité médiévale et informatique: Recherche sur les barèmes pour l' imposition des paysans byzantins au XIVe siècle", *Revue historique* 252 (1974), 315-353; Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society*, 58-66, 148-182; passim in the commentaries of the series *Archives de l' Athos*; for a list of most important taxes collected by lay lords see Bartusis, *Late Byzantine Army*, 170-172. To the above should now be added N.Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale à Byzance (IXe-XIe s.)*, Athens 1996. Although it concerns an earlier period, many of the basic traits of the fiscal system remained unchanged, in theory at least, until the period that concerns us.
[56]Guillou, *Ménécée*, 99
[57]Iviron III **66**, 129

As can be seen in table III, clear and unequivocal mentions of income from taxes are surprisingly few in our documentation concerning aristocratic lay lords[58]. Of course several other expressions, like *paroikoi*, without specification, or "village" (*chorion*) may refer to income from taxes, but this is not always clear. The problem is that we may have to do with cases where the paroikoi do not own any property of their own, therefore pay only certain secondary taxes, but contribute to the lord the rent for the land they cultivate, customary dues and corvées, or serve as day-labourers. Such peasants undoubtedly existed and are encountered in the praktika under various names (*xenoi, eleutheroi, proskathemenoi*, terms that have slight semantic differences but all fall under the category described here)[59].

The existence of *proskathemenoi* peasants is connected to the issue of the fate of small peasant property in the course of the fourteenth century since they may represent a shift from the fiscal exploitation of smallholding peasants towards the exploitation of landless rent-paying tenants. Various factors created a pressure for absorption of small property into the domain of the landlord. First, there could be a conscious policy on the part of the landowner, who would attempt to buy off the peasants' lands. In spite of a unique early thirteenth-century case, in which a sale was declared void, on the grounds that "the tax-payers must not sell their possessions to those who have them by right of pronoia, because these remain always under the hand of the state[60]", it appears that this was perfectly normal in later periods. In the case of monastic properties this process can be indirectly inferred, through the gradual deterioration of peasant properties over time, as they appear in the praktika[61]. There are a few instances where lay aristocratic landlords are buying off peasant property. In 1271/2,

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[58] For the European provinces of the empire these cases are limited to ten: Leo Bardales, Peter Doukopoulos, Nicholas Maliasenos, George and John Margarites, Michael Senachereim Monomachos, Demetrios Pharmakes, Preakotzelos, Michael Sabentzes, Arsenios Tzamplakon (see table III for references)

[59] See Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society*, 34, 160, 213-214

[60] MM IV, 199 (date: 1233, since it is earlier than No.CX, p.193):"διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ παροικίαν τελεῖν ταύτην (τὴν γῆν) καὶ μὴ ὀφείλειν τοὺς ὑποτελεῖς πιπράσκειν τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν κατεχόμενα πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ λόγον προνοίας ἔχοντας αὐτὰ ὡς ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ δημοσίου χεῖρα ἀείποτε τελοῦντα". On the affair, see Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society*, 211-212 and Angold, *Nicaea*, 215, 267. Even then, the sale was denounced three decades after it was concluded and only when it clashed with the interests of a powerful new lord (the monastery of Lembos).

[61] Laiou-Thomadakis, *op.cit.*, 208 ff.

Nicholas Maliasenos and his wife bought various small properties from starving peasants, at very low prices. Some of them adressed the couple as "our lords", a sign that they were their paroikoi, while this cannot be excluded for the rest of the sellers[62]. Theodore Sarantenos bought various plots of peasants, which were included in one of his *zeugelateia*, this time at a high price[63]. In one of these cases the sale included the entire property of the peasant. In 1337/8 Theodora Kantakouzene concluded no less than 110 acts of purchase, buying in total ca.1,400 modioi of land and vineyards. All the sellers were smallholders, but we cannot tell for sure whether they were her paroikoi (some at least adressed her in the act as "our holy lady" but others did not)[64]. However, all of the above purchases had one thing in common: they were concluded with the explicit intention of providing endowment for a monastic foundation (the examples of the Maliasenoi and Sarantenos) or of forming a gift to a monastery (Kantakouzene donated the lands to Batopediou). As in the case of improvements, the evidence is not sufficient to allow us to talk of a consistent aristocratic policy with a long-term economic rationale behind it. Of course we should take into account that this evidence survived precisely because it was connected to monasteries, whose archives and chartularies are our quasi-exclusive source of information.

The other factor that worked in the direction of the absorption of small peasant property into that of the big landowners was the tendency of the peasants to abandon their lands for a variety of reasons. The abandoned peasant plots -as well as other properties- would either revert immediately to the lord or revert to the state, often in order to be granted as domanial lands[65], while the peasants would end up as paroikoi without property, settled on the lands of another landlord. The intense geographic mobility of the peasantry, in spite of the restrictions imposed by their status as paroikoi, is a well attested phenomenon of the

62MM IV, 393-414. On these sales see B.Ferjančić, "Posedi porodice Maliasina u Tesaliji", *ZRVI* 9(1966), 33-48 (with French summary)
63Theocharides, *Diatheke*, 21.
64Mavrommatis, "Note sur la grande propriété en Macedoine", 74-77
65For example, abandoned "escheat" lands formed part of the domanial lands in the pronoia of Maroules (Xénoph.16, 142-144), although they were calculated at a lower rate. On the status of the "exaleimmata" see M Bartusis, "Exaleimma: Escheat in Byzantium", *DOP* 40 (1986), 55-81

fourteenth century[66] and its implications may be far-reaching: it has been argued that the center of gravity of agricultural production shifted in this period from the village, the traditional fiscal unit, to the lord's estate, worked by labourers who have no property rights on it and may even come from far away[67]. The information that we have from aristocratic landholdings does not openly support or disprove that suggestion. Part of the problem lies with the terminology of the sources. Words such as *ktema* or *zeugelateion*, meaning roughly "estate", sometimes alternate with the word *chorion*, village[68]. This is not just a confusion of the sources, but it appears that the limits of some estates could coincide with those of a village, or include one or more villages in them; in some cases the estate took its name from a neighbouring village[69]. The real question concerns the status of the paroikoi cultivating the large estates: did they also own their own land and pay taxes, or did they work exclusively on lands that did not belong to them? We observe that fiscal income is never clearly mentioned in conjunction with those estates[70]. For example, it would appear that the whole properties of Sarantenos did not include income from taxes at all, since it is not mentioned in his testament. Of course there is another alternative: Sarantenos only mentions resources for which he has full rights of transmission. Perhaps he also received income from taxes, but this right reverted to the state after his death (1328 or 1329). It could be argued that the peasants who sell him

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[66]Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society*, 247-266

[67]This is the view of K.V.Hvostova, as summarized by I.Sorlin in "Bulletin des publications en langues slaves", *TM* 12 (1994), 506-507; the main works referred to are "Migracionnye processy v srede pozdnevizantijskih zavisimyh krest'jan", *VV* 48 (1987), 13-22; "Zemel'naja sobstvennost' v pozdnej Vizantii, XIV-XV vv: real'nye otnoshenija i ih ponimanie vizantijcami-sovremennikami epohi", *VV* 51 (1990), 10-11; "Pronija: social'no-ekonomicheskie i pravovye problemy", *VV* 49 (1988), 13-23. Ju.Ja.Vin has argued for the opposite, that is the persistence of the village community as an essential cell of rural economic life, but, in the summary at least, his views do not appear very persuasive: see Sorlin, *op.cit.*, 507-509

[68]See for example Chil.**42**, 110, where the imperial chancery first enumerates villages and *zeugelateia* distinctly and then refers to all of them as *choria*. A property is refered to as "τὸ χωρίον τοῦ Κοτζάκη"(Iviron III **81**, 288), and as "le zevgèlateion au delà du Panakos, Kocak, et tout ce qui s' y trouve" (translation/summary of a Serb original, Pantel., 158). One of the *zeugelateia* of Sarantenos bears alternately the names Neochorion and Makrychorion, which indicate that it was essentially a village. Ezova, the property of Theodore Synadenos, is a *chorion* in Kutlumus 14, 70 and a *ktema* in Xénoph.**25**, 196.

[69]For example, near Kritzista, the estate of Sarantenos, there was a village by that name, belonging to soldiers (Theocharides, *Diatheke*, 35); Tzainou was the name both of the *zeugelateion* of Kantakouzene and of the neighbouring metochion of Philotheou (Philothée **IX**,26; Kravari, *Philothéou*, 307)

[70]It should be mentioned that some taxes could also be extracted from the *proskathemenoi*, taxation is not therefore a certain indication that the peasants owned land. See for example Philothée **IX**, 26 where the *proskathemenoi* of Zelihova payed the *zeugaratikion* (see *ODB*, s.v.) to Theodore Synadenos and later to the monastery of Philotheou.

their plots in the *zeugelateion* "tou Skoteinou" were his paroikoi; but it appears more likely that these were simply his neighbours. Probably they also were the tenants who cultivated his lands and at least one of them sold to Sarantenos his entire property, but there is no indication that they were paying taxes to him. In another of his *zeugelateia* we find settled landless paroikoi, *proskathemenoi*, who own no land but only animals and plows. Were they the entire working force of Komanitze and Neochorion? The name of the latter could suggest that it was a new settlement[71] and perhaps it was created when these paroikoi came from various other places and settled there. It is not certain, but it is possible that 18 paroikoi households would suffice to cultivate the more than 3,600 m. of land[72]. In a few other cases we also hear of *proskathemenoi* settled in aristocratic estates[73]. But this does not necessarily imply a shift with time: already in 1272 a large part of the properties with which the Maliasenoi endowed their monastic foundations were cultivated by *proskathemenoi*, but the Maliasenoi were also the lords of peasants who owned plots of land[74]. Again, in 1307 the village of Prinobaris in Asia Minor, that belonged to Constantine Nestongos was inhabited by *proskathemenoi*[75].

Although no shift is discernible, it is evident from our information that the estate, as an integrated unit of production, looms large and appears to be more important than the scattered lands and isolated resources. We see that the typical estate usually includes more than one productive resources. The group of properties with which Theodora Kantakouzene endowed the monastery of Eleousa included one *zeugelateion*: apart from the land, the

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[71]Caution is recommended: another Neochorion, a village in Chalkidike belonging to Lavra was abandoned in 1345 and described as παλαιοχώριον (Lavra IV, 104)
[72]This would give a figure of 200 modioi/paroikos. A.Laiou, "Agrarian Economy" has calculated that a *zeugaratos* in Mamitzon could cultivate about 129 m. Yet this does not represent the maximum potential and, although not all of Sarantenos' paroikoi were *zeugaratoi*, there were enough oxen to form sufficient teams if peasants who lacked one or both oxen borrowed them from the owners after the latter had done their own plowing. Therefore I consider the above figure to be within the realm of possibility.
[73]The *zeugelateion* of Manuel Angelos Patrikios (but were 9 *proskathemenoi* enough to cultivate 6,600 modioi? Perhaps a large part of the land was not arable); the fields of the monastery of Theodosios Melissenos and its metochia; the estate of Dragon in 1324 (Chil., 203); the properties in Lemnos given to Dionysiou by Astras and Michael Hierakes bef.1366 (Dionysiou,49); the *zeugelateion* of Pharmakes (Lavra II, 138). I am not certain about the sense of *chrysoboullatoi* paroikoi in the latter case: are they tax-payers ceded by chrysobull or (more likely) landless paroikoi whose unhindered possession is guaranteed to their lord by chrysobull?
[74]MM IV, 331, 333ff
[75]MM IV, 257

property included the oxen that would cultivate it and also a flock of sheep. Her other estate, Tzainou, included a vineyard. Kotzakion, the estate of John Masgidas, included land, vineyards, mills and paroikoi. A similar variety is observed in the *zeugelateion* of Pharmakes but it is most evident in the *zeugelateia* of Sarantenos, for which we have detailed description: they included land, vineyards, mills, pastureland, paroikoi and animals[76]. One wonders whether the initiative for this new organization of production came from the landowners, who formed the *zeugelateia* by a careful policy of land acquisition and investment, or by the state. There is in fact an obscure passage in Pachymeres, stating that "the so-called *zeugelateia*" were re-organized by John III: he settled villages ("komai") on imperial estates, with the double purpose of providing supplies to neighbouring castles and of giving their income as grant to individuals[77]. In fact, the earliest *zeugelateia* appear under John III as imperial estates, such as that of Koukoulos, in Asia Minor, in 1231[78]. In the fourteenth century the crown still owned "imperial zeugelateia" all over the empire. As it can be seen from table III, some *zeugelateia* or *ktemata* can be traced back to imperial grants. But this does not imply by any means that all estates of this kind had been originally constituted at the initiative of the state. The case of Theodore Sarantenos who, based on a plot of land, expands his properties by purchases and constitutes a *zeugelateion* (Skoteinou) is characteristic of initiative undertaken by the landowner, without any intervention by the state. It is not impossible, on the other hand, that this kind of organization had been originally applied in properties of the crown, which subsequently passed to individuals as grants and

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[76]Kutlumus **18**, 86-87; Lemerle, "Praktikon de Karakala", 285; Pantel., 158; Lavra II**98**, 138; Theocharides, *Diatheke*, 17-31

[77]Pach.I.i, 99:"Ἐς τόσον καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν Ἰωάννης προμηθευτικῶς τοῖς ἅπασιν εἶχεν ὥστε καί, ἰδίαν πρόνοιαν τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας τὰ λεγόμενα ζευγηλατεῖα ἡγούμενος, παρ' ἕκαστον κάστρον καὶ φρούριον κώμας ἐπὶ τούτοις καθίστη, ἐφ' ᾧπερ ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων ἐπικαρπίας καὶ εἰσφορᾶς σιταρκεῖτο μὲν καὶ τὸ παρακείμενον φρούριον, ἔχοι δέ γε καὶ ὁ κρατῶν ἐντεῦθεν πολλοῖς ἢ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐξαντλεῖν τὰς εὐεργεσίας ἀμάρας". Ostrogorsky (*Féodalité*, 64) translates the second sentence "il considérait que les terres cultivables méritaient l' attention toute spéciale de l' empereur", but Pachymeres is probably using *zeugelateia* in a more technical sense than "terres cultivables".

[78]MM IV, 142. But three years later, the *zeugelateion* had been dissolved, although part of its lands remained crown property: see ibid., 146 ("the public land that used to belong to the imperial *zeugelateion* that was there"). This is also evident from the fact that in 1231 it is the *epikraton*, the estate manager, who is charged with giving land to Lembos, while in 1234 it is the *prokathemenos* of Smyrna, an official without any connection to the administration of rural imperial properties (ibid., 147)

provided the model for further application. A further indication about the integrated nature of these productive units is that they were seldom divided or broken apart without being altogether dissolved, as happened with the imperial estate of Koukoulos. It is true that some lords detached and donated parts of their estate, as did Theodore Sarantenos for part of Komanitze (although he provides in his testament for its eventual reunification) or Theodore Synadenos for part of Ezova. But we see many cases where the estates remained united although their ownership (and presumably their income) were divided among heirs. Most characteristic is the case of Hagia Mari(n)a, the estate of Pharmakes. One half was given as dowry to his daughter, then, after her death, his son-in-law kept one sixth, which was inherited by his second wife, Maria Spartene, and subsequently donated to Lavra in 1304. In the donation she was not able to describe the part that she owned: "however much and of whatever kind it is". The reason was probably that it was not the actual property that was divided but the income[79]. The same is probably the case with the etates of the Tzamplakon family, Gallikos and Prinarion. Their ownership, after being divided among heirs for many decades, finally ended up as property of Batopediou, but the actual estates are always refered to as integral properties[80]. There is the possibility that the crown retained the right to extract some profit from former imperial *zeugelateia*, even after they had been ceded as grants. This is attested for the monastery of Esphigmenou but not for any of the aristocratic properties examined here[81].

The role of the state

As it has been said already, a considerable part of aristocratic properties originated with state grants. The practice of granting state resources to individuals goes back several centuries. It is first attested in the eleventh century but some aspects of it may have existed

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[79]Lavra II **98**, 138-139
[80]Theocharides, "Tzamplakones", 131; Arkadios Batopedinos in *Gregorios ho Palamas* 3, 437
[81]Esphig.7, 65: the paroikoi ceded to the monastery were part of a former imperial *zeugelateion*. They were paying taxes to the monastery, except the *dimodaion* and *charagma*, which were collected by the agent responsible for the income of the imperial *zeugelateia*.

even in earlier periods[82]. The first cases we hear about concern monasteries (the *charistike* donations) or imperial foundations and their concession could be in their own best interest as much as in the interest of the beneficiary[83]; the same could be said for the donations of fortresses in that period[84]. By the end of the century it appears that grants of state property had become a common means of rewarding state servants[85]. The reason for the spread of this practice must certainly be connected with the financial crisis of the second half of the century, the cash shortages of the imperial treasury and the dramatic devaluation of the *nomisma*, that rendered the traditional payments in cash, the *roga* system, problematic and impractical[86]. The establishment of the Komnenoi and their extended family in power was accompanied by extensive application of the policy of state grants and it is reasonable to credit Alexios I with the decisive abandonment of the previous system and the generalization of the new one. This practice continued under Alexios' descendants and it appears that under Manuel I the donation of *paroikoi* was extensively employed as a means of rewarding the stratiotai, the professional, non-mercenary soldiers of Byzantium[87]. After 1204 Theodore Laskaris, faced with the need of supporting an army and bureaucracy with minimal cash at hand, resorted extensively to the system of grants, helped by the fact that extended properties in Asia Minor that had once belonged to the Great Church or to major Constantinopolitan monasteries had now become crown property[88] (the same would possibly be true, although not attested, for the properties of the members of the previous imperial family). The system was continuously applied up to the end of the empire. It should be noted that it had two aspects, first, the normal remuneration of state servants and soldiers and second, the special favour shown to

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[82]See Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale à Byzance*, 221, n.248
[83]For one of the earliest instances, the imperial house of Mangana, see Ostrogorskij, *Féodalité*, 20-22; A.Hohlweg, "Zur Frage der Pronoia in Byzanz", *BZ* 60 (1969), 288-308. On the evolution of the system of *charistike* donations see Σ.Βαρναλίδης, *Ὁ θεσμὸς τῆς χαριστικῆς (δωρεᾶς) τῶν μοναστηρίων εἰς τοὺς Βυζαντινούς* Thessalonica 1985
[84]See N.Oikonomides, "The Donation of Castles in the Last Quarter of the 11th Century" in P.Wirth (ed.), *Polychronion. Festschrift Franz Dölger*, Heidelberg, 1966, 413-417
[85]Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale à byzance*, 223-224
[86]Ibid., 218-219
[87]Niketas Choniates (ed. van Dieten), 208-209
[88] See H.Ahrweiler-Glykatzi, "La politique agraire des empereurs de Nicée", *Byzantion* 28(1958), 55-57

relatives and supporters of an emperor[89]. Needless to say, grants of the second kind proliferated in periods of dynastic change or civil unrest[90].

The process through which the state might give a grant or extend the privileges related to it is more or less known to us. First an imperial charter, usually a *prostagma*, would be issued. In some cases it would specify the property ceded; this was normally the case when the charter followed upon a specific petition by the beneficiary. But usually it would only specify the fiscal income (*posotes*) that was to be ceded and perhaps the area, in general terms. If specific privileges and rights of transmission were attached to the grant they would also be specified in the imperial document. Then it would be up to the fiscal officials, who presumably had the lists of available resources and of the income that corresponded to each unit, to draw up a *praktikon* or other document that would constitute the *paradosis*, the actual rendering of the properties to the beneficiary. In some cases a second imperial charter, this time usually a chrysobull, would be issued extending or confirming the privileges attached to the holding[91]. The resources (estates, paroikoi, etc.) covered by such a charter bear sometimes the designation *chrysoboullaton*. In one rather late case (1342) there is a clear distinction between the former status (δι' οἰκονομίας) and the new status (διὰ χρυσοβούλλου) of the *posotes* granted to a group of soldiers, the Klazomenitai. The change was made through extra privileges (rights of transmission, immunity) granted through a *sigillion*[92].

Only the emperor had the right to give away resources of the state. True, there are some cases where a grant was initiated not at imperial command, but by some other high-

[89]Apparently the terminology of documents reflects this distinction: N.Oikonomidès in Doch., 106 formulates the attractive suggestion that lands described as *archontika ktemata* are grants connected to office whereas *prosopika ktemata* are grants to aristocrats as persons not connected to any obligations.
[90]For example the grants given out by Michael Palaiologos in 1258-59 (Pach.I.i, 139)
[91]In some cases it could be another type of document, e.g. a *horismos*, as in Guillou, *Ménécée*, 119 or *prostagma*, as in Chil., 150-151. On the process of attribution see Oikonomidès, "Contribution à l' étude de la pronoia au XIIIe siècle", 167-169 and Lemerle, "Praktikon de Karakala", 286-287. Lemerle thinks that a second imperial charter would always be issued after the *paradosis*, but I do not think that this would be necessary when no new privileges were granted. The case described in the "Praktikon of Karakala" is atypical, since Guy de Lusignan was probably attributing grants at his own initiative, although with the understanding that they would later receive imperial confirmation.
[92]Kutlumus **20**, 90-91

ranking official: for example, we saw how in 1342 John Margarites received a grant at the orders of Guy de Lusignan, general commander in East Macedonia. But even then, the grant would have to be confirmed sooner or later by an imperial decree. In our example this was probably the chrysobull granted soon afterwards by John V to George Margarites, although the change of the first name of the recipient can be the subject of much speculation[93].

The grant was generally strictly restricted to the *posotes* described in the imperial document. Unless the right to increase the property's value (or the right to turn away from the property any cadastral officials who might record the increase) had been explicitely granted to the beneficiary, any such increase would have to be deducted from the grant[94]. For this purpose, as well as for the opposite one, that is restoring properties whose productivity had fallen below the prescribed *posotes*, the state would periodically conduct an *exisosis*, a survey that would modify the original *praktika* in order to restore the *posotes* to the desirable level. This process seems to have been part of the normal fiscal census and was usually conducted by the censors[95], but, in some cases at least, it was undertaken following a special initiative by a high state official. One such extraordinary *exisosis* was carried out at the orders and under the surveillance of John Tarchaneiotes, general commander in Asia Minor in 1292 and its purpose was to restore the capacity of small pronoia-holding soldiers to arm themselves[96]. After the treaty of Epibatai in 1322 Andronikos II ordered an extraordinary *exisosis*, partly, we suspect, in order to put the state finances in some order after the first phase of the civil war, partly in order to accommodate those who had received grants from his grandson -at the expense, one guesses, of the elder emperor's loyalist supporters[97]. Another *exisosis* was carried out in 1341, at the instigation of John Kantakouzenos, who was then head of the army

[93]Lemerle, "Praktikon de Karakala", 281 (Lemerle considers that Guy acted upon an imperial prostagma); Kravari, *Philothéou*, 297-298. See the comments under George Margarites in my Table III
[94]Coveting neighbors and rivals would make sure that such increases would not pass unnoticed:such an accusation had been voiced against Skaranos and resulted to the loss of some of his properties that were given to Iviron. After imperial intervention the fiscal official, Kerameas, gave back to him all that was included in his original *praktikon* (Xérop.9, 81; Lefort, "Une exploitation de taille moyenne en Chalcidique", 363-364)
[95]See examples in *ODB*, s.v. "Exisotes"
[96]Pach.II, 258-259
[97]Kantak.I, 169

and the strong man of the empire. The justification presented by Kantakouzenos himself was similar to the case of 1292: the capacity of the soldiers to arm themselves had deteriorated because of the reduction of their income and the *exisosis* would provide a solution by adding to their resources. But the situation is not very clear. The survey concerned not only the *stratiotai* but all those who held imperial grants, including high aristocrats. It was assigned to a private businessman, Patrikiotes, under terms that a slanted narrative precludes us from reconstructing. Probably such an *exisosis* would have been part of a general tax-assessment and -collection enterprise throughout the empire. Anyway, Kantakouzenos' obvious anxiety to give credit to Patrikiotes' honest intentions is a certain sign that the proceedings had been at least the subject of accusations (Patrikiotes later lost his property under the anti-Kantakouzenist regime)[98]. In all probability this *exisosis* was probably a means for Kantakouzenos to enrich his supporters at the expense of his opponents, while for Patrikiotes it may have been a profitable undertaking through the profits of corruption, in spite of his collaborator's assurances to the contrary; all this indicates the stakes that were at play behind the mechanism of state grants.

Properties that were granted to state servants as a form of payment remained closely connected to the recipient's obligation of service to the state. The term for this obligation as for the service proper was probably "douleia" (perhaps connected with the title "*doulos* of the emperor", borne by public servants)[99]. Unfortunately, our information does not allow us to calculate the correspondence between specific forms of public service and the *posotes* that they represented, although we may suppose that there must have existed a regularity in that aspect. That the *douleia* could in fact be calculated is apparent from a case where the βασμουλικὴ δουλεία (marine service) performed by a smallholder corresponded to an

[98]Kantak.II, 58-64

[99]For examples of *douleia* as service to the state see Iviron III **76**, 240 (ll.46-47, 50); Xénoph.**3**, 82 (l.14); Doch.**1**, 53 (l.16); **27**, 188 (l.3). For *douleia* as an obligation attached to property see Doch.**27**, 188 (ll.23,33); Chil.**96**, 203 (l.4); Dölger, *Paraspora*, 192; for a variation (*doulosyne*, as a condition of holding the land) see the much later chrysobull of John VII in A.P.Kazhdan, "Dva pozdnevizantijskih akta", *VV* 2 (1949), 314

amount that was deducted from his taxes[100]. The same document indicates that the normal fiscal obligation of a property was considered in this period as a form of *douleia*[101]. As we are going to see, the opposite status, *eleutheria*, might have the meaning of fiscal immunity, as well as freedom from any obligation of service to the state.

As a term, ἐλευθερία is rare; it is the adjective ἐλεύθερος or the adverb ἐλευθέρως that we encounter often in the sources and which denote a privilege granted by the emperor: for example, in 1324, responding favorably to a petition, Andronikos II converted an estate owned by one of his *oikeioi* -until then burdened with *douleia*- into *eleutheron*, specifying that it was to be held without *douleia*. The specific rights that accompany the new status are described by a series of adverbs: "ἀνενοχλήτως, ἀδιασείστως, ἀναφαιρέτως, ἀναποσπάστως". Most likely all these are guarantees against infringement by fiscal officials and any possible inclusion of this property in a future *exisosis*. Such guarantees were not restricted to "free" properties: the properties of the Klazomenitai, for example, were given all these guarantees, but they remained burdened with *douleia*[102]. "Free" status also included the right to make meliorations and to transmit the property in any way the owner liked, without restriction. Fiscal immunity is not explicitely mentioned, but it may be included in the sense of "ἀνενοχλήτως", "in an unhindered way"[103]. Earlier, in 1293, the same emperor had granted to another *oikeios* a piece of land that he was to hold "ἐλευθέραν πάντη καὶ χωρὶς τῆς τυχούσης δουλείας". Although the adverbs mentioned earlier were not used here, it was explicitely stated that the land would be immune to any form of extraction and demand and that no official would be allowed to enter it. Again, it is not certain that this clause also concerned the usual basic taxes, but it is likely. As in the later case of 1324 the status of "free

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[100]Doch.**60**, 311 (l.78); on the *Vasmouloi (Gasmouloi)* see Bartusis, *Late Byzantine Army*, 44-45

[101]The correspondence is also evident in the case of Demetrios Deblitzenos: he owned a piece of property and paid taxes, but when he entered imperial service, part -at least- of his fiscal obligation was alleviated. Cf. Oikonomides, "The Properties of the Deblitzenoi", 179. The use of fiscal alleviation as a remuneration for public service existed from a much earlier date: see Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale à Byzance*, 164-179

[102]Kutlumus**20**, 90-91

[103]Chil.**96**, 203-204. Ἀνενοχλησία was not equivalent to complete immunity. For example the properties of Makrynitissa were granted ἀνενοχλησία but still had to pay the military taxes of *kastroktisia* and *katergoktisia* (MM IV, 332)

property" included unlimited rights of transmission[104]. Often, the status of "free" would be conferred upon a part only of a grant: the *oikonomia* of Alexios Palaiologos Soultanos was inherited by his son, together with the *douleia* that accompanied it. But as a special favor the emperor granted to a smaller part of it, a *posotes* of 100 hyp., "freedom" and allowed it to be inherited by Alexios' widow[105]. The distinction is made clear in a fake chrysobull, whose date of fabrication must not have been very distant from the alleged 1318: a soldier was to hold his parental property (γονικὴν ὑπόστασιν) "free and *akatadouloton*" except for the amount that constitited his *oikonomia*, which would continue to be burdened with an obligation of service[106]. A similar partial alleviation of the *douleia* was granted to Michael Monomachos for the properties included in the already mentioned *praktikon*, while the rest of his *oikonomia* would presumably continue to be held under condition of service[107].

The terminology is not always uniform. For example, in the case of Monomachos we have the expression "ektos douleias" but not the word "eleutheron". In the chrysobull issued for Demetrios Mourinos by Michael VIII "freedom" is nowhere mentioned, although the description of the privileges is identical to it. The fact that Mourinos' properties would still be burdened with the impositions of *kastroktisia* and *katergoktisia* cannot be the reason since the same was the case with the possessions of Makrynitissa, who are nevertheless described as "free"[108]. There is one case where the property is described as "free", although the most characteristic attribute of freedom, the right of unlimited transmission, is not explicitely mentioned. This is the *praktikon* of John Margarites, who only has the right of transmission to his legitimate children. Significantly, the imperial chrysobull for "George" Margarites, a document concerning more or less the same properties but, unlike the *praktikon*, issued by the imperial chancery, nowhere mentions *eleutheria*[109]. If the two documents concern the

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104Chil.11, 28-29

105Arkadios Batopedinos, "Ἁγιορειτικὰ ἀνάλεκτα ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχείου τῆς μονῆς Βατοπεδίου" in *Gregorios ho Palamas* 3 (1919), 218

106Chil.35,82=Dölger, *Schatzkammer*, 49-50

107Zogr.**XXIX**, 68-69

108Doch. **9**, 108

109Lemerle, "Praktikon de Karakala", 281-2; 285; Kravari, *Philothéou*, 297-8

same grant, then we could conclude that the *praktikon* misapplied the term *eleutheron*. We see however that a few years later part of this grant had been sold by Margarites and the legality of that action was not put into doubt[110]. We are therefore obliged to allow for inaccuracy and vagueness even in the terminology of imperial documents.

This ambiguity should not prevent us from clearly distinguishing within state-granted properties those that were connected to an obligation for service and those that were not. In both categories there were nuances as to the rights of transmission and the degree of immunity attached to those properties. First, as far as transmission is concerned, there were always those grants that the beneficiary could only keep for as long as he was alive; afterwards the property, together with the *douleia,* would be awarded to somebody else. It is likely, but not evident from the sources, that for the intervening period of time the property, together with its income, would revert to the crown. The state would intervene against any attempts by relatives, such as the widow of a certain Sarakenos in Serrai in 1325, to keep the grants as their private property[111].

Naturally, there was always a pressure on the emperors to assure that the properties would remain within the family, by being re-granted to the heirs, always together with their obligation of service. This was, Pachymeres tells us, one of the promises made by Michael Palaiologos before his elevation to the throne, one that he eventually fulfilled by rendering the pronoiai "immortal"[112]. As it was already observed by Ostrogorsky[113], this passage should not be taken literally, but as an indication that the practice of allowing for transmission of the grants was extensively applied under Michael VIII. Interestingly, in a less famous instance, the same "innovation" is attributed by an encomiast to Michael's successor. This long passage by the orator Lampenos presents a special interest because it introduces the notion that not

[110]Kravari, *Philothéou*, 307. The first name of Margarites is not given, but as the editor points out, he must be George, who obtained the property through the later chrysobull.

[111]Guillou, *Ménécée* **16**, 69-70. The patriarchal register (MM I, 315) presents us with a similar case of 1351 that does not involve an imperial grant burdened with *douleia* but the "protection" (*ephoreia*) of an imperial monastery: the children of Isaac Asan falsified the chrysobull of their father, in order to show that the grant was hereditary.

[112]Pach.I.i, 131, 139

[113]*Féodalité*, 95

only the sons, but also other heirs could be eligible for this privilege, the choice lying with the first beneficiary:

> I do not know out of what consideration of the previous emperors, the grants that the Rhomaioi enjoyed from the public funds -whether these were rewards for their labours, or estates- were good for them alone, and they could not transmit to their sons any part of the parental property, whether they had died in wars or in some other way. The most philanthropous emperor put an end to this, and ordained that the grants and possessions acquired by the parents after great pains be transmitted to their offspring. So, the patrimony is handed over and the sons inherit the possessions of their fathers; not only the sons but, in case someone does not happen to be and bear the appelation of the father of a legitimate son, [the beneficiary can transmit the properties] to whomever he bequeathes them by a testament, even if that one is from among the outsiders and not a relative at all.

The orator concludes that Andronikos II allowed all into the inheritance and rendered for ever obsolete the customs of the Celts, who distinguished legitimate children from bastards by throwing them in the river, as well as the practice of ξενηλασία (literally the expulsion of foreigners; here probably intended as a contrast to the new practice allowing even strangers-*xenoi*- into the inheritance).[114] Of course there is here more than a fair share of rhetorical exaggeration, but perhaps we have a clue as to the meaning of the standard clause: "πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ ὀσφύος γνησίους παῖδας αὐτοῦ" - "to the legitimate children of his loins", designating the rights of transmission in documents, which is usually complemented by "καὶ κληρονόμους" or "διαδόχους". We see that it did not necessarily include only children, but left the matter to the discrimination of the beneficiary, always, of course, under the obligation of *douleia*.

Although there is probably truth in the information of the above sources, namely that the first two Palaiologoi generalized the practice of allowing transmission of the grants, this

[114]I.D.Polemes, *Ὁ λόγιος Νικόλαος Λαμπηνὸς καὶ τὸ ἐγκώμιον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν Ἀνδρόνικον Β΄ Παλαιολόγον*, Athens 1992, 68: "Οὐκ οἶδ᾽ οὖν ὅπως τοῖς προτοῦ βεβασιλευκόσι δόξαν, ἃς ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν Ῥωμαῖοι ταμιείων προσωδεύοντο δωρεάς, εἴτ᾽ οὖν ἐπιτίμια τῶν ἐργασιῶν, εἴτε κτήματα, μέχρις ἐκείνων ἵστασαν, υἱέσιν οὐδ᾽ ὁτιοῦν τῶν πατρῴων μεταδόντες, κἂν ἐν πολέμοις οὗτοι πεπτώκεσαν, κἂν ἄλλως τὴν ζωὴν ἐξεμέτρησαν. Τοῦτ᾽ οὖν ὁ φιλανθρωπότατος ἀναιρεῖ βασιλεὺς καὶ δωρεὰς ἐκείνας καὶ κτήσεις ἐκείνας, ἃς οἱ τεκόντες εἰλήφεσαν κεκμηκότες πλεῖστα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνων διαβαίνειν θεσπίζει καὶ δίδοται κλῆρος καὶ παῖδες πατρῴων κληρονομοῦσι κτήσεων καὶ οὐχ ὅσον παῖδες, ἀλλ᾽ εἴ τινι μὴ συμβαίη πατρὶ γεγενῆσθαι γνησίου καὶ ὀνομάσθαι παιδός, πρὸς ὃν ἂν διάθηται, κἂν πάνυ τις εἴη τῶν ἀλλοτρίων καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα προσηκόντων"

may have appeared earlier. In 1234, the *stratiotes* Constantine Kalegopoulos reached an agreement with Lembos concerning a fishery that was in part situated in a river whose rights had been ceded as pronoia to Kalegopoulos. The agreement was signed not only by Kalegopoulos, but by his son as well and from the text it appears clearly that he expected his son to succeed him. In 1259 it was not the son of Kalegopoulos but another *stratiotes*, Michael Angelos, who owned the same pronoia. Interestingly enough, though, he is refered to in a document as "τὸ μέρος τοῦ Καληγοπούλου", a formula indicating that he had followed Kalegopoulos (either the father or the son) in a normal succession (he could be a grandson, for example)[115].

On the other hand, it appears that transmission of a grant within one's family was not standardly assured to all, even in the Palaiologan period. We already encountered the example of Peter Doukopoulos, who did not know to whom his *oikonomia*, the village Daphne, would pass after his death[116]. In 1303 the *stratiotes* Demetrios Harmenopoulos appears uncertain even about holding his imperial grant for his own lifetime and the same uncertainty is manifested in the donation of two (?) unnamed pronoia-holders in 1314[117].

We have many instances from the period after Michael VIII where the emperor grants to someone the right to transmit the property to his children or designated heirs. These should, however, be distinguished from cases where an imperial charter conferred to a property unlimited rights of transmission (including, that is, the right to sell, exchange and donate the property or to give it as dowry). Instances of the latter kind should not be seen as a normal evolution of the principle of transmission to the heirs; the essential difference is that in the latter case the state was prepared to completely relinquish its control over a property that essentially belonged to it, including the right to demand services for it. In other words, the granting of unlimited rights of transmission was equivalent to relieving the property of its accompanying *douleia*; as a matter of fact, the two notions are often connected in the

115 MM IV, 241-244
116 Iviron III **66**, 129
117 Xénoph.**6**, 97; Doch.**14**, 127

documents. It does seem, however, that there was an intermediate situation, where granted properties were transmitted as fully owned, but the state maintained somehow its rights by intervening in order to re-grant them to the new beneficiary. At least this is how I would understand the case of Michael Komnenos Branas, to whom the state re-granted, through a *praktikon*, property that had belonged to his father-in-law, a process elsewhere described as confirmation by prostagmata and chrysobulls of the properties that he got as dowry[118]. This is a case where the rights of transmission exceed the usual limitations connected with *douleia*, yet the state maintains a degree of control over the property.

Generally, part of the problem is that both the right of controlled transmission to one's heirs and the unlimited right of disposing of one's full property are designated in the documents by the same term, γονικότης—γονικόν which is also encountered in its simple original meaning of "parental"[119]. All meanings appear throughout the period and it does not seem that there is a semantic shift over time. It is possible that the right to improve the granted property was connected to *gonikotes*. The fact that this right needed to be explicitly accorded by imperial charter implies that normally a beneficiary could not perform meliorations, possibly because these might be later seen as creating some sort of right to the land. But once a sort of permanence had been granted to the tenure, even if transmission was restricted to the descendants only, the right to improve the property was usually granted as well[120]. It is also probable that these clauses had a fiscal significance: they were a guarantee that, if the value of the property was increased because of meliorations and the corresponding theoretical tax rose above the granted *posotes*, the beneficiary would not have to pay the extra amount, nor would part of the property be taken away in an *exisosis*. The clauses, therefore, acted potentially as

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[118]MM IV, 181:"προικόθεν ἔχων αὐτὰ κἀπὶ τούτοις προστάγματα καὶ χρυσόβουλλα προσκυνητὰ καὶ τούτων εἶναι δεσπότην αὐτῶν"; ibid., 274

[119]For examples of *gonikotes* in the sense of transmission to the heirs, see Guillou, *Ménécée* **2**, 41; **6**, 49; **8**, 53; Dionysiou **2**, 46; Doch.**27**, 188; Chil.**132**, 276-7. In the sense of the right to freely dispose of the property in any way, Chil.**23**, 50-51; **96**, 203-204; Pantel.**12**, 104-105; Zogr.**XXVIII**, 65-66; Xénoph.**25**,191, 196

[120]See Guillou, *Ménécée* **2**, 41; **8**, 53; Dionysiou **2**, 46; Chil.**132**, 277, for cases where the right of melioration is granted, although the right of transmission is restricted to the heirs.

an incentive for beneficiaries to invest in the properties granted to them and increase their productivity.

A right connected to the right of melioration was that of settling paroikoi on the granted property. In this case the state was essentially renouncing its claim to the various secondary taxes levied on the peasants (in this case the paroikoi, being settled on a lord's land, would not be liable to the basic land tax). In some cases this immunity was complete, but in others the state insisted in collecting impositions that were needed for military purposes, as well as some extraordinary impositions. The "ξένοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι", for example that were to be settled on the properties of George Troullenos would still have to pay the impositions of *kephalaion, sitarkia, kastroktisia, orike* (the exact nature of all is obscure), the "murder-fine" (*phonos*) and the "treasure-trove fee" (*heuresis thesaurou*). The document states that these were demanded of all estates, even the *chrysoboullata*, those that had received a chrysobull of privileges, but this is not absolute; there were properties that were completely exempt, or that were burdened with only some of these impositions, most usually the "murder-fine", the "corruption of virgins fine"(*parthenophthoria*) and the "treasure-trove fee"[121].

These alleviations concerned only the paroikoi settled in the properties ceded. The question of the immunity of the aristocratic beneficiaries themselves is much broader. Fiscal liability in Byzantium was attached to the property and not to the owner, therefore an aristocrat would be in theory subject to taxation as much as a peasant. No less a person than Nikephoros Choumnos, *sympentheros* of the emperor, mentions in a letter that he was subject to taxation[122]. As it is well known however, the crown often granted extensive

[121]Philothée VI, 19; On *kastroktisia* and other impositions of a military nature see M.Bartusis, "State Demands for Building and Repairing Fortifications in Late Byzantium and Medieval Serbia", *BS* 49(1988), 205-212; also Sp.Troianos, "Καστροκτισία. Einige Bemerkungen über die finanziellen Grundlagen des Festungsbaues in byzantinischen Reich", *Byzantina* 1(1969), 39-57; on the *heuresis thesaurou*, see C.Morrisson, "La découverte des trésors à l' époque byzantine: Théorie et pratique de l'Heuresis thesaurou", *TM* 8(1981), 321-343; for the other taxes see *ODB* s.vv. *Epereiai, Parthenophthoria, Phonikon*
[122]Choumnos Ep., 180

immunity to aristocratic, ecclesiastic and monastic properties[123]. It is not clear whether an imperial grant in exchange for service would be automatically tax-exempt. The fact that land is represented in the total *posotes* by its fiscal value is a strong sign that the beneficiary at least did not have to pay the basic land-tax. There is one problematic case: before 1342, a certain Margarites (probably the John that we already encountered) held fields and vineyards that had been ceded to him by documents of fiscal officials (δι' ἀπογραφικῶν ἀποδείξεων) and paid for these a tax of 9 nomismata[124]. Perhaps here we have to do with a different kind of grant: this would not be connected to actual service but a fiscal liability would take the place of the normal *douleia*. The state could resort to such means perhaps in order to draw a profit from lands that it owned and had not ceded in return for service. We know in the case of peasants that sometimes the *apographeis* would cede lands to them in order to maintain their capacity to pay taxes. In any case, this is a sign that by that time fiscal liability was not exclusively connected with property held in full ownership.

Fiscal exemption was one of the most common privileges granted, both to properties where the state maintained the control of transmission and to properties where unlimited rights of disposing were ceded to the owners. The term usually employed in the sources is ἀνενοχλησία-ἀνενοχλήτως, implying that no demand whatsoever would be raised on the property, but we already saw that exeptions were allowed for. A more precise term was "ἀνώτερον πάσης δημοσιακῆς ἐπηρείας"-above all fiscal requisition[125]. In two cases at least, both from the time of Michael VIII, the state still demanded from aristocratic estates the military impositions of *kastroktisia* and *katergoktisia*[126], stating that this was standard practice. As in the case of the similar statement encountered above, there is no reason to take such assertions at face value[127]. Of course fiscal immunity could be granted as a favor

[123]For the earlier history of fiscal immunity, see Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale à Byzance*, 153-179

[124]Guillou, *Ménécée* 36, 119

[125]It is doubted whether the term implied complete fiscal immunity: see *ODB* s.v."Epereiai"

[126]The properties of Demetrios Mourinos (Doch.9, 109) and the properties with which the Maliasenoi endowed Makrynitissa (MM IV, 332)

[127]See for example the chrysobull of the same emperor for Iviron (Iviron III 58, 91) where complete exemption is granted, explicitly including *kastroktisia* and *katergoktisia*.

independently of other rights and to properties that were not (at least obviously) state grants[128]. The clauses prohibiting the interference of fiscal and other officials with an exempt property gave rise in the past to theories that extended the right of fiscal immunity to the judicial sphere as well. Although the actual control that a landlord exercised over those within his properties could be more important than we can infer from the documents, we cannot claim that the state officially granted judicial rights or judiciary immunity without overstretching the interpretation of the sources, whose clauses are clearly connected with the fiscal immunity and the integrity of a granted property[129].

Besides the grants that were connected to state service, at least in their original form, there were grants to favored individuals, such as the emperor's close relatives and collaborators, that were from the beginning independent of any sort of service and were ceded with full rights. According to the importance of the beneficiary, such grants could be extraordinarily generous: Michael VIII assigned to his younger son, the *porphyrogennetos* Constantine, properties that corresponded to a *posotes* of 60,000 hyp./year and allegedly wished to increase this to 100,000 hyp./year[130]. Michael's sons-in-law, the Despots John Asan and Demetrios-Michael Angelos also obtained grants from him. The properties of both were located in Asia Minor and at least in the case of Michael Angelos they were replaced after the loss of the Eastern territories by new ones in Europe at the orders of Andronikos II. When Michael fell in disgrace in 1304 these properties were given by the senior emperor to Michael IX[131]. Apart from these close relatives, the first of the Palaiologoi was, as we saw, very generous with the important aristocrats whose support he needed for the consolidation of his regime. But the practice in general goes back long before Michael VIII. It is attested, for example, in the grant by Alexios I to his brother, Hadrian, of the fiscal income from a

128As in the chrysobulls for the citizens of Monembasia (1284, MM V, 155), Croia (1288, Solovjev-Mošin, *Povelje*, 316-318 and Ioannina (1319, MM V, 82-83), where immunity was granted to their hereditary possessions.

129See G. Ostrogorsky, "Pour l' histoire de l' immunité à Byzance" in *Byzantion* 28(1958), 165-254; also *ODB* s.vv. "Exkousseia","Immunity"

130Pach.II, 157, 161

131Pach.I.ii, 557; II, 407-409

large part of Chalkidike[132] and continued throughout the twelfth century. The properties of the Petraliphai in the area of Hierissos originated as grants to Maria Komnene Tzousmene, daughter of John II and sister of Manuel I. This particular case also serves as an indication of the change that occured in the nature of such grants between the Comnenian era and the early thirteenth century: whereas in the case of Maria Komnene we have simply to do with a large property (Maria offered lands to the monasteries of Xeropotamou and Zographou, but could not offer fiscal immunity for those properties), by the time of her grandson, Andronikos Petraliphas, this has evolved into some sort of territorial lordship; not only did Andronikos have complete authority to impose or alleviate public taxation in his lands, but he also had the power to remove arbitrarily possessions of the monastery of Xeropotamou. Of course these extended prerogatives are characteristic of that specific time (the exact date of Andronikos' activity is not known, but it is some time before or, more likely, after the fourth crusade)[133] and were restricted after the reimposition of imperial rule under John III and his successors.

Early thirteenth-century Epiros and Western Greece show a similar situation, where economic exploitation and quasi-lordship of an area are becoming confused. At the same time lordship is equated to private property as to the rights of transmission. The documents of Demetrios Chomatianos and John Apokaukos give several examples where villages -sometimes there is explicit reference to the "lordship" (ἀρχοντία) of a village- are inherited or given as dowry[134]. That this "lordship" was more than simple economic exploitation is apparent from cases like Theodora tou Indanou, who coerced an inhabitant of the village Malaina into marriage, or Taronas, who forced the peasants to attend the church that he built in the village[135].

We have already observed that Palaiologan documents give very inadequate information about the property of the great aristocrats, those who were related to the

[132]Lavra I 46, 250-251
[133]Xérop.8, 69-70; Zogr.VI, 17-19
[134]See table IIIa.
[135]Bees/Apok., 80; Chom., 343

emperors or were descended by close imperial relatives. Theodora Kantakouzene was descended from the Palaiologoi on her mother's side (her maternal grandmother was a sister of Michael VIII), and it is likely that most of her properties originated as imperial grants to her parents or grandparents. Unfortunately we do not have more precise information as to that point (we do not know the origin of the *zeugelateion* "tou Tzainou" or the land in Lemnos. Her other attested properties were from purchase). The *basilissa* Anna Palaiologina, sister of Andronikos III, had properties from inheritance (*apo gonikotetos*), confirmed in their "freedom" and exempt status by chrysobull[136]. The notion of "inheritance" is slightly problematic when we have to do with the daughter of an emperor, since it does not appear, generally speaking, that the private property of the emperor was any longer clearly distinguished by the property of the state. It is likely, though, that Anna's father, Michael IX, who only reigned as a junior co-emperor, was a case apart; he was probably more like his brothers the Despots, the recipient of generous grants for his sustenance, than like his father, Andronikos II, who, as senior emperor, had the public funds at his disposal[137]. Like other members of the imperial family he could transmit his grants to his descendants as *gonike* property. We already encountered another case, that of Theodora Palaiologina, niece of Andronikos II, who sold a large estate that she possessed to the tsar of Bulgaria[138]. The two sisters, Theodora Synadene and Glabaina, probably had inherited the properties in Constantinople where they built their monasteries from their father, Constantine Palaiologos, half-brother of Michael VIII[139]. It is likely that other properties that he transmitted to his

[136]E.Lappa-Zizicas, "Un chrysobulle inconnu en faveur du monastère des Saints Anargyres de Kosmidion" *TM* 8(1981), 267

[137]This distinction is apparent from an episode during the first civil war: Andronikos III intercepted the tax-collectors and appropriated the tax-money they were carrying, although it is clear that he did not have the right to do so without his grandfather's approval. His act, besides being one of expediency, was also a statement of independence vis-a-vis the senior emperor, whose superiority, unlike his father, he refused to recognize (Greg.I, 392; Kantakouzenos, who tries to emphasize Andronikos III's loyalty, attributes this act to the initative of subordinates:Kantak.I, 93)

[138]Zogr.XXII,49

[139]See above, Ch.II, n.115

daughters included a field in Sellarion[140]and the village of Ainos. In the latter case, it is interesting that while half of it was Theodora's *gonike* property, the other half belonged to Theodora's son, the *protostrator* Theodore Synadenos. Unlike his mother's part, the portion belonging to Theodore was included in a chrysobull, probably of privileges, from which it was "detached"(ἀποκοπέντα) in order to be donated, together with the other half, to the monastery of Bebaia Elpis. This is a sign that the distinction between fully owned property and controlled imperial grants was not absolute in this period: in this case part of a property that was unconditionally ceded to the emperor's brother and transmitted to his daughter as a private good passed to another descendent, a male imperial servant, and was somehow equated to the latter's other imperial grants, whence the chrysobull. Although by that time Theodore was very powerful and his grants were probably given extended privileges of the kind described earlier, the source gives the impression that it was in a different category from his mother's *gonike* property and its donation had to go through a special process.

A look at the survey of Table III shows clearly that many aristocratic properties originated as state grants, either to the owner or to his ancestors. Even when there is no clear mention of such a grant, the information rarely allows us to exclude this possibility. Historically it would be possible to attribute this situation to the particular circumstances of the gradual restoration of the empire after 1204. In Asia Minor, although several lesser aristocrats, members of locally rooted families, had fully owned properties, many great aristocrats who arrived in the area after 1204 must have relied on state grants for rebuilding their fortunes, a process facilitated by the availability of extensive land and other resources[141]. Things took a new turn during and after the large-scale reconquest of European territories, beginning in the 1240's. During that time large properties that had belonged to the magnates of the Western Greek Despotate, the Bulgarian empire or the Latin empire of Constantinople passed under the control of the Byzantine crown which proceeded to

[140]Arkadios Batopedinos, "Ἁγιορειτικὰ ἀνάλεκτα ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχείου τῆς μονῆς Βατοπεδίου" in *Gregorios ho Palamas* 3, 439 (If my suppositions are correct: see Ch.II,127).
[141]Ahrweiler, "La politique agraire des empereurs de Nicée", 57

redistribute them among its aristocrats, public functionaries and soldiers. It is very likely, therefore, that the great majority of aristocratic possessions in Europe originated as state grants of one kind or another. Of course not all aristocrats in the restored empire arrived from the Nicene state; many, especially among the middle-low aristocracy, were natives of the Balkan provinces where they must have had properties. Even these properties, however, had to receive imperial confirmation in order to assure that their ownership status would not be challenged. This is the case with the properties of the Maliasenoi in Thessaly, for example. Perhaps the very fact that after the imposition of imperial control they decided to give to their possessions the form of a large monastic foundation can be interpreted as an attempt to secure their ownership rights from possible confiscations[142].

Less prominent persons than the Maliasenoi tried to secure their properties in a corporate way: the inhabitants of certain Balkan cities facilitated -or at least did not resist- the imperial reconquest and in return obtained charters of privileges for their cities in the form of "common chrysobulls". In all the cases that we know of, these included a guarantee clause that the citizens' countryside possessions would remain "free" and would maintain their full ownership rights (the terminology is the same as for the privileges granted to favoured aristocrats: "ἐλευθέρως, ἀνενοχλήτως, ἀναφαιρέτως, ἀναποσπάστως" etc., as well as "κατὰ λόγον γονικότητος". It appears that these privileges included complete fiscal exemption for the rural properties of the inhabitants of those cities)[143]. As we saw in Ch.II, the descendants of some of the citizens who secured those privileges at the moment of reconquest later entered the aristocracy of offices and titles[144]. The fact, however, that these charters were renewed by each new emperor and that they kept being evoked continuously

[142]This point is made by Ferjančić, "Posedi porodice Maljasina", who thinks that the Maliasenoi continued to regard their monasteries as their private property.

[143]The most prominent "common chrysobull was that granted to Thessalonica by John III in 1246 (Akropolites, 80). Its text does not survive but its clauses can be reconstructed from references to it in other documents (Chil., 51, 72, 146; Xénoph., 149, 191; Lemerle, "Praktikon de Karakala", 285; Arkadios Batopedinos in *Gregorios ho Palamas* 3(1919), 218; the same is true for the charter of Berrhoia (Theocharides, *Diatheke*, 13); on the other hand we have versions of the chrysobulls granted to Monembasia, Croia and Ioannina (MM V, 154-155, 77-84; Solovjev-Mošin, *Povelje*, 316-318)

[144]See above, pp.120, 122, 128

until the middle of the fourteenth century is a sign of the uncertainty that became attached to the status of every important landed property after the reconquest.

Aristocratic properties also became closely dependent upon state confirmation, even if they were not originally imperial grants. Sometimes an imperial charter was sought after as the best means to settle property disputes, as in the case of some escheat lands (or cleared lands?-*ekleiomata*) that were claimed both by Theodore Sarantenos and the *protallagator* Aspietes, until an imperial *prostagma* ended the dispute[145]. Sometimes the imperial confirmation was sought in order to guarantee properties that would be given to a monastic foundation, like in the case of the properties of the Maliasenoi[146] or of Theodosios Melissenos[147]. It also happened that upon conquest of an area a preexisiting property would be re-granted to its owner, connected to state service and equated to an imperial grant. For example the village of Kranidion in Argolis, which was the hereditary property of a certain Nomikopoulos, was confirmed in his possession, but burdened with *douleia*. One wonders whether Nomikopoulos' "parental property" had not in reality been a fief under Frankish rule, therefore already connected with an obligation of service[148]. But, most often, connecting a property to an imperial document was simply the best way to guarantee its unhindered possession and transmission. The chancery of Andronikos II summed up the essence of the situation in the first lines of the exposition in a chrysobull of 1289, by which the emperor guaranteed to the widow of the Thessalian Sebastocrator John Doukas Komnenos (Angelos) the transmission of part of her properties to the monastery of Lykousada near Phanarion. After a preamble where it is stated that all those who had assumed autonomously the control of cities and regions during the troubled period of Latin rule now must submit to the emperor (a reference to the Sebastocrator's rule in Thessaly), we are told that the lady Hypomone Doukaina asked Andronikos II to confirm the properties with which she endowed the

[145]Theocharides, *Diatheke*, 26
[146]MM IV, 331ff.
[147]Chil.64, 150-151
[148]Dölger, *Paraspora*, 192

monastery "knowing well the right of the emperor, and that it is not possible for anyone in this life, not even a monastery, to have secure possession of their belongings unless imperial orders confirm them[149]".

The stability of aristocratic holdings

As we saw, the ways in which aristocratic properties could be transmitted were closely dependent upon the status of the property and the privileges granted to it by the emperors. When the rights of transmission were unlimited, the practices of passing on the property to the heirs were moderated by the age-long prescriptions of Byzantine law and custom[150]. According to these, all children were entitled to a portion of the parental inheritance. In the case of girls, their share could correspond to the dowry they had received while their parents were alive. If parents died intestate the property had to be divided equally among the children. In case of successive marriages, special regulations modified the shares pertaining to the relatives from the first and from the subsequent marriages. A person's parents and siblings were normally excluded from the inheritance in favor of surviving descendants and, under certain conditions, spouses. The chances of uncles, cousins and other lateral relations to inherit were even more remote. Dowry property was transmitted to the woman's children. If the woman was childless, the fate of the dowry depended upon a variety of factors, such as the husband's remarrying, but it was difficult for it to revert entirely to the woman's family. One may easily understand that such a system not only caused the division

[149]MM V, 254: "τὸ τῆς βασιλείας καλῶς ἐπεγνωκυῖα δικαίωμα, καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν βεβαίῳ τὴν τῶν προσόντων ἀποφέρεσθαι κτῆσιν, οὔτε μὴν καθ' ἕνα τῶν ἐν βίῳ, οὔτε μοναστῶν καταγώγιον, εἰ μὴ τὸ κῦρος ἐπιθείη τούτοις βασιλικὰ διατάγματα..."

[150]For inheritance laws that were still valid in the fourteenth century, the main source is the fifth book of the *Hexabiblos* of Constantine Harmenopoulos (ed.K.Pitsakes, Athens 1971, 277-341). See Laiou, *Peasant Society* 186-187. Everyday practices could follow the prescriptions of Roman law or present variations. For the patterns in peasant households, see Laiou, *Peasant Society*, 192-203, where it is seen that sometimes the division of the patrimony among *paroikoi* was avoided and siblings lived together, at least so long as they remained unmarried. In the twelfth century there was a tendency among free landowners to reconstitute divided properties through marriage strategies: see N.Svoronos, "Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XIe et XIIe siècles: le cadastre de Thèbes", *Bulletin de correspondence hellénique* 83(1959), 33-34.

and dispersion of properties, but also assured the perpetuation of such a division, since it favored the descendants above all others. For example, when a piece of property was divided between two siblings and one of them died with children, it was almost impossible for the surviving sibling to claim the other's share and restore the integrity of the property.

As we saw, many types of imperial grants restricted transmission to the "legitimate sons of [the beneficiary's] loins" and sometimes to "his other heirs". We also saw that there is some ground for interpreting the latter clause as allowing for more freedom of choice on the part of the beneficiary than usually thought[151]. One wonders whether this type of transmission did not sometimes serve as a means for by-passing the legal and customary rules of inheritance, limiting the division of the property or creating some sort of primogeniture. Most of the examples that we have would not support this supposition; in fact, it appears that such properties were very literally transmitted to all of the beneficiary's sons. This happened to the pronoia of Manuel Deblitzenos, which was transmitted to his children (whose names are not even mentioned) or with the *oikonomia* that belonged in common to the brothers Ignatios, Diomedes, Alexander and Nicholas Sarantenoi, although it was not "free" and they did not have unlimited rights of transmission[152]. In theory there was no problem with the notion of a "pronoia"-type grant belonging to more than one person[153], but it still appears odd that the service corresponding to one person would be shared among his successors. Perhaps it was only one of them who performed the service, even as the property burdened with the *douleia* was shared by all. There are some rare cases where such properties are transmitted via daughters. One is the rather unusual case of the "pronoia" of Gabalas, transmitted as dowry to his son-in-law, Michael Komnenos Branas[154]. A certain Chrysokompas, a soldier in the 1280's, held his pronoia through his first wife's dowry and

[151]See above, p.172
[152]Iviron III **75**, 234; Xénoph.**23**, 177
[153]See for example Isauros and Kardames, Xénoph. **19**, 158 or the Klazomenitai, Kutlumus **20**, 90-91, two among several cases of joint or collective *pronoia*-grants.
[154]MM IV, 181

then transmitted it, together with the obligation of service to his son, once he was adult[155]. In a much later case (1364) the *oikonomia* of a certain Komnenoutzikos was inherited by his daughter, but perhaps it had been granted unlimited rights of transmission[156]. In all of the above cases, the fact that the property could not be alienated helped preserve its unity. On the other hand, it is hard to see how grants connected to service could go on being divided among male heirs for more than one generation. In fact we do not hear of something like that occuring and it appears that after the heirs of the first beneficiary the state re-assumed control of the property and granted it anew, either to a member of the same family or to outsiders. It was therefore difficult for controlled grants, burdened with *douleia,* to form the basis for the creation of a large family patrimony.

One naturally suspects that Byzantine aristocrats, as well as other property-holders, devised means to control and avoid the break-up of landed properties. There is no evidence that the rules regarding inheritance were disregarded or altered: the Byzantine common feeling was much more concerned with protecting the rights of all the heirs than with preserving the unity of properties. But a legal and acceptable way out was found in the form of joint ownership and/or administration among siblings, of which we have several examples[157]. Sometimes the administration was in the hands of one brother, although the ownership was shared by all: Loziki, for example, the estate of the Spartenoi brothers, belonged to all, but only John Spartenos signed the act of its donation to Hilandar[158]. Normally each one of the owners could freely dispose of his part, provided of course that he was of legal age. A certain John Palaiologos, *doulos* of the emperor (wrongly identified by

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[155]Greg.Cyp. Ep., No 129:"ἥ τε πρόνοια ἥ τε οἰκία καὶ ὅ,τι ἕτερον ἐτύγχανεν ἐφ' ᾧ στρατεύειν ὠφείλετο, μητρόθεν διέφερε τῷ παιδί. cf. M.V. Bibikov, "Svedenija o pronii v pis'mah Grigorija Kiprskogo i 'Istorii' Georgija Pahimera", *ZRVI* 17(1976) 93-99.

[156]Xénoph.**30**, 212

[157]Here I am presenting cases that involve aristocrats. For other cases concerning free landowners see Laiou, *Mariage, amour et parenté à Byzance*, Ch.V, pp.137-171. Also see Kravari, "Les actes privés des monastères de l' Athos et l' unité du patrimoine familial", *Eherecht un Familiengut*, Munich 1992, 77-88.

[158]Chil.**6**, 15-17. In the text all the brothers are mentioned as donors and the first plural is consistently used. There is even the sentence "we have signed in the beginning with our own hands, as it can be seen", yet there is only one signature, that of John. No part is missing from the beginning of the document, since a summary comes before the signature.

Guillou as the son of Andronikos II, the despot John), donated to the chartophylax of the bishopric of Lititza a small field, in memory of his parents[159]. However, he expressed the fear that his "lords and brothers" would not accept his donation and would cancel it. The fact that he was a "servant of the emperor" and in position to sign an act of donation indicates that he was probably of legal age, but the expression "αὐθέντες"(sic) for his brothers shows that they had some right of control over him, which would explain why they could cancel his act. On the other hand it appears in this case that the field was also owned by his brothers who were not in the area and could not be asked for their consent. Therefore they were perfectly entitled to cancel the act, except for the part concerning John's share. That would allow us to interpret the last clause of the document ("if [the brothers cancel the act], let it be valid for my share, for the sake of my soul and the soul of my holy parents")[160].

It is possible that it was easier for brothers to maintain a joint property, than it was for married sisters, whose share came under the administrative authority of their husband: in 1327 the Kalamanos brothers sold their Thessalonica properties to Zographou but separated from them the part corresponding to their sister's dowry. Of course in-laws could consent to maintain the unity of the patrimony: both eventualities are illustrated in the case of the *zeugelateion* of Hagia Mari(n)a: it was divided among a girl who got married and later became a nun (Agape Angelina), her brother, Theodore Spartenos, and another sister who got married to Manuel Phaxenos. Agape's share was separated from the rest of the property until she sold it to her brother and brother-in-law, who had continued to hold their parts in common[161].

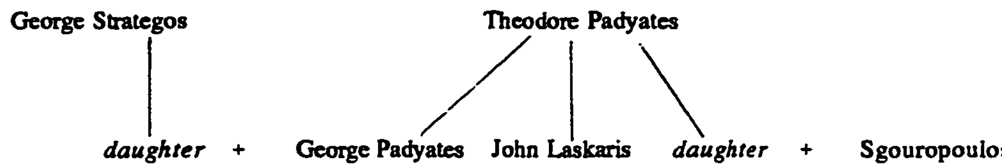
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[159]Guillou, *Ménécée* 3, 43. The identification to the despot John is to be excluded on grounds of style, titulature and because the parents of this donor are obviously dead, while the despot John predeceased both Andronikos II and Irene of Montferrat.

[160]Ibid.:"εἰ δ' ἴσος κ(αὶ) ἀνατρέψωσιν οἱ αὐθέντες καὶ ἀδελφοί μου τὴν παροῦσαν μου πρᾶξιν κ(αὶ) οὐδὲν τῇ στέρξωσιν, να το δέξωμαι εἰς τό μερίδιον μ(ου) διὰ τὴν ψυχήν μου κ(αὶ) τὴν ψυχὴν τῶν ἁγί(ων) μου γονέ(ων)."

[161]Lavra III **156**, 139

Joint administration was not only observed among siblings. The case of Theodore Padyates and his children, as transmitted in the patriarchal register, has already been mentioned. Here is a schematic presentation of the family:



Theodore administered the property of his son George, including his daughter-in-law's dowry, which he squandered (although this was absolutely illegal). After Theodore's death, the girl's father, George Strategos, intervened to preserve his daughter's rights. As a partial replacement of the squandered dowry the young couple obtained an estate of Padyates, which otherwise would have been equally divided among Padyates' two sons (Padyates' son-in-law Sgouropoulos also showed some interest in the case, although normally his wife should not be expected to inherit if she had already received her dowry). The second son, John Laskaris, who found himself deprived of his inheritance, began a long struggle that finally failed. Not the least reason for that was that the couple's property was administered not by the husband, George Padyates, but by his influential father-in-law, Strategos. We have here a peculiar case where the unity of a property is maintained against the rights of one of the brothers and on rather weak legal grounds: the estate of Theodore Padyates was an imperial grant (we know that because it temporarily reverted to the crown after his death) and could not be considered as his personal property. Alternatively, the restitution of the dowry could take place after the division of the estate and only at the expense of George Padyates' share. The decisive factor here was undoubtedly the influence of George Strategos who administered the estate without having much of a claim to it, but ultimately perhaps more effectively than his son-in-law could have done[162].

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[162]Patr.Reg.I **101**, 570-572

The practice of joint property may have delayed the division of a patrimony, but it is doubtful whether it could indefinitely prevent it. It is noteworthy that we find instances of joint ownership only among the closest relatives: siblings or parents and children[163]. The youngest generations would probably want to secure their rights by dividing the property, as happened to the patrimony of the brothers Basil and John Kaballarioi. They held their parental field in common but after John's death his children -or rather their mother's relatives who were their legal representatives- wished to separate their half. Basil tried to avert this by evoking the previous common administration and by proposing to keep administering the whole property on his nephews' behalf. The law was not on his side, however, and the property was definitively divided[164].

Apart from joint ownership, no other serious attempts on the part of the aristocracy to prevent dispersion of patrimony are discernible. There are some instances of dowry given in cash, among others the original dowry of the above mentioned daughter of George Strategos (it was 36 lb. of gold, equal, we are told, to 2,492 hyp.- possibly an error for 2,592). But these were exceptions rather than the rule, since in the vast majority of cases the dowry consisted in immobile property. We also have a case where a brother donates a piece of property to his brother: in 1336 the *sebastos* Michael Smileos donated his field to his brother, Niketas Palloukes. Niketas already owned an adjacent field, therefore we have probably to do with a parental property reunified; but this is not enough to allow us to speak of a conscious practice aimed at by-passing the rules of inheritance.

There is absolutely no evidence about attempts among the aristocracy to limit childbearing as a means of controlling the dispersion of the patrimony. Statistics about the

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[163]The property of Basil Sebasteianos remained united under his grandchildren. But it appears that Basil bequeathed the property to one son, therefore the grandchildren were all siblings: Patr.Reg.I 78, 454-456; the cases studied by Laiou, *Mariage, amour et parenté*, 170, also show that although jurists in the thirteenth century recognized that joint administration created some sort of right, this could extend only as far as first cousins. It appears that even in practice joint administration was not practical or profitable beyond that point (Ibid., 169-170). The limited prospects of duration of joint ownership may be a reason why it never evolved into a more stable family institution, paralel to the *consorteria* in Northern Italy (on the *consorteria* see D.Herlihy, *Medieval Households*, Cambridge Ma. 1985, 88-92)
[164]Patr.Reg.I 43, 304-306

number of children cannot be attempted, because our information is random and only in rare cases do we know the number of all the children of an aristocratic family. But in the isolated examples that we have, we see next to cases of only children, like John Kantakouzenos, several instances of families with many siblings (like the Asan or the Tarchaneiotai), a matter apparently determined mainly by chance. Neither does there seem to be any tendency of consciously diverting offspring to monastic life. There are some interesting cases like the family of St.Germanos (the low-aristocratic family of Maroules), where the older brother was married and had children, while Germanos and his younger brother became monks, as did a nephew later. But the younger brother became a monk after having first married and had children[165]. In general, it appears that such cases are a manifestation of particular piety within a family rather than a mark of an attempt to exclude possible heirs. After all, monks and nuns in that period could inherit and own property and freely dispose of it.

A very common phenomenon in the Palaiologan era was the diversion of funds and resources of aristocrats to the endowment of newly founded or pre-existing monastic foundations[166]. It is tempting to try to discern behind this practice a means of investment immune to the dangers of dispersion. There is no doubt that small churches and monasteries (denoted by terms such as μονύδριον, μετόχιον,etc.) were considered as property assets, given as grants, sold and bequeathed[167]. But the question is more complicated as regards the large monastic establishments, whose endowments in lands and other resources could equal an aristocratic property. In many cases the *ktetor(es)* (a term denoting the founders but also the renovators or other benefactors) retired in the monastery as monks or nuns (as did the Maliasenoi couple in Makrynitissa/Nea Petra or Theodora Synadene in Bebaia Elpis). But

[165]Life of Germanos, 91, 104-106

[166]For the evidence see E.Herman, "'Chiese private' e diritto di fondazione negli ultimi secoli dell' impero bizantino", *OCP* 12(1946) 302-321 and, more up-to-date, J.Ph.Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire*, Washington, D.C., 1987, 249-262. A list of foundations from this period is also given in N.Teteriatnikov, "The Dedication of the Chora Monastery", *Byzantion* LXVI(1996), 202-205

[167]See for example MM I, 312 (a church sold by Maria Akropolitissa); Dionysiou 3, 49-50 (donations of churches of Michael Astras and Michael Hierakes); Kutlumus **18**, 86-87 (the monastery of Eleousa bought by Theodora Kantakouzene)

what really interests us is the way in which the *ktetores* or members of their families could benefit from the monastery's resources while remaining outside it. The "founder's right" (in this period increasingly confused with the *ephoreia*, the "protectorship") could be transmitted among members of a family, but the ways were not uniform[168]. Sometimes one member of the family was appointed *ephoros*, as was Theodore Synadenos for Bebaia Elpis, but in other cases all the heirs of a *ktetor* succeeded in his/her rights, a situation that resulted sometimes in confusion, for example when one of them desired to sell the monastery[169].

The most serious obstacle to considering monastic foundations as a financial investment was the growing resistance among church circles to the alienation of monastic properties by their *ktetores*[170]. In practice there were instances where aristocratic *ktetores* openly exploited the resources of the monasteries, without assuming the responsibility for their maintenance. The most notorious case (and the one involving the most socially prominent actors) concerns the monastic foundation of St.Mary of the Mongols, whose *ephoros*, Isaac Palaiologos, had allowed it to deteriorate, while he appropriated part of its property[171]. It is notable however that this instance comes at a time of financial distress for many high aristocrats (1351) and, as the toughening of the church's policy towards the *ktetores/ephoroi* indicates, it was probably not isolated. But there is no evidence for such exploitative use of high aristocratic foundations before that time. In general it does not seem that any of the important founders of monasteries had in mind such an exploitative use on the part of his/her heirs; often the foundations were to be independent and self-administered (αὐτεξούσια καὶ αὐτοδέσποτα), as was Bebaia Elpis[172]. A foundation, besides being an investment in terms of social prestige, can be seen as an insurance against tougher times, a

[168]On the *ktetorikon dikaion* and on the *ephoreia* in this period see Thomas, *op.cit.*, 253-258
[169]Delehaye, *Deux typica*, 30 (Theodore Synadenos as *ephoros* of Bebaia Elpis; in p.82 both he and his brother are named *ktetores*); Patr.Reg.I **93**, 528-530 (the children of Monomachos succeeded to their father as *ktetores* but disagreed on the sale of their monastery); MM II, 455-458 (a late case of 1401, where the *ktetoreia* was divided first between two siblings, then among one of them and the other's two children and one grandchild) cf. Thomas, *op.cit.*, 268
[170]Thomas, *op.cit.*, 255, 258-262
[171]MM I, 312-317; cf. Thomas, *op.cit.*, 261
[172]Delehaye, *Deux typica*, 28-29

safe haven for adversity in one's last years. Sometimes it did fulfill its purpose, as in the case of Theodore Metochites: although he had lost the entirety of his fortune after Andronikos III's victory in 1328, he could still retire -after his brief exile- to his monastery of Chora, where he spent his last days[173]. In a way, this diversion of funds towards monastic foundations that would eventually become independent was a further detraction from aristocratic patrimonies, alongside division among rightful heirs; its effects could be destructive in the long term, although it might offer some sort of security to the founder and the immediate successors.

Other economic activities of the aristocracy

Several aristocrats owned urban properties which they were putting in use for profit. Not surprisingly, the standard way to do so was through leasing them. For example part of the land of Demetrios Doukopoulos in Thessalonica was meant to be leased for building[174]. Nikephoros Choumnos invested a considerable amount in buying houses in Thessalonica, which he subsequently leased[175]. Three workshops that formed part of the monastery of Eleousa in Serrai, bought by Theodora Kantakouzene, were to be leased (*enoikiaka ergasteria*) and one presumes that the same was the case with the houses included in the same property[176]. Other urban workshops that are encountered in the sources without specifications as to their mode of exploitation (those of Kosmas Pankalos for example[177]) were, I believe, also leased, rather than directly exploited -perhaps by craftsmen or associates subordinate in some way to the owner. In the case of properties such as ovens (*mankipeia*) or wine-presses, both ways of exploitation are conceivable: the owner could either directly collect the dues paid by those who used the facility, through an agent, or he could lease the

[173]Gregoras I, 458-9
[174]Xénoph. **20**, 164-165
[175]Choumnos Ep., 29
[176]Kutlumus **18**, 86
[177]Kutlumus **8**, 52

entire facility, together with the rights to exploit it, to some third person (see the parallel case of the mills in a rural context). Other urban facilities that could be exploited by aristocrats include inns (*xenodocheia*[178]), bathhouses and even banks (*katallaktika trapezia*), such as those sold by the *Pinkernissa* Palaiologina, an aunt of John V, to the monk Niphon[179]. In cases such as this, one is tempted to consider the possibility that the owner was also participating in the financial activity of the banks, invested capital and drew profits from their operation. The absence, however, of any more specific information as well as the straightforward way in which the banks are sold, without any mention of their activities, makes it more likely that the owners simply profited from the rent paid by those who actually operated the banks financially. The importance of owning the *trapezia* (whether they were literally benches/tables or more elaborate constructions) probably lay in their privileged location in the city, especially if such activities were only allowed to take place in specific locations.

Profits connected to the administration

As we have seen, officials and other state servants received their reward from the state in the form of grants of various kinds. But administrative positions in Byzantium had also always been for their occupants a means of personal enrichment through extractions of various kinds and exploitation of those under their control. This should not necessarily be seen as illicit gain; the devolution of state authority, such as the authority to collect money for various purposes, to the officials conceivably entailed some normal margin for personal profit. These profits probably lay behind the desire of aristocrats to occupy an administrative post, even if they already held a court office, a desire evident in the fact that they were willing to pay for such a position. As a matter of fact, most positions in the administration were for sale. Pachymeres refers to it rather disapprovingly as a sign of his times, but without

[178]Regel, *Batopediou*, 17

[179]Lavra III 123, 24; on the meaning of the *trapezia* as "banks", see Oikonomidès, *Hommes d' affaires*, 63-64

necessarily implying that this did not happen before Andronikos II :"For our present times have the 'advantage' that most [offices] are sold by the emperor's ministers for payments and gifts. This has prevented many people worthy of command from acquiring these honors, either because they did not condescend to pay (and not only this, but often they even deemed themselves worthy of receiving money) or perhaps because they could not"[180]. The patriarch Gregory of Cyprus praised in a panegyric Andronikos II for making sure that those who bought administrative posts were honest. Yet, it does not indicate that the practice of office-mongering was ever put into doubt: "No destructive man penetrates public (fiscal) service or buys for himself the right to collect money, in order, as the scripture has it, to measure the people with a yardstick and turn common misfortunes into private gain; for only he dares to approach the emperor and perform a function, who, according to the psalm, marches in a blameless way"[181]. This passage (which runs completely opposite to the opinion expressed by the same author in his correspondence) explicitly mentions buying offices only in connection with tax-farming, but there are other indications that even the highest offices in the provincial administration, including that of *kephale*, governor of a city and the area around it, were bought and sold[182]. The most famous instance concerns the two young aristocrats, John Kantakouzenos and Syrgiannes who in 1321 -in anticipation of the revolt of the young Andronikos III- sought the governorships of strategically located cities in Thrace[183]. According to Gregoras, they paid for them large sums to the "παραδυναστεύοντες", those who held power at the side of the emperor, an equivalent to Pachymeres' "μεσιτεύοντες". It

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[180]Pach.II, 208:"Πλεονέκτημα γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐγένετο τοὺς παρόντας χρόνους μισθοῦ τοῖς μεσιτεύουσι καὶ λημμάτων τὰ πολλὰ πράττεσθαι. Τοῦτο πολλοῖς μὲν τοῖς ἐς ἀρχὴν εὐδοκίμοις ἢ μὴ καταδεχομένοις καταβάλλειν (πολλῷ γὰρ οὐχ ἥκιστα τοῦτο, ὅσῳ καὶ ἀξιοῦσι λαμβάνειν) ἢ μὴ δυναμένοις ἴσως ἐκόλουε τὰς τιμάς."

[181]Encomium to Andronikos II, in Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca* I, 386:"Οὐδεὶς λυμεὼν ἄνθρωπος εἰς λειτουργίαν δημόσιον παραδύεται, οὐδ' ἑαυτῷ χρημάτων εἰσπράξεις ὠνεῖται, ἵν', ὅ φησιν ἡ γραφή, τὸν λαὸν καλαμώμενος, κέρδος ἴδιον ποιεῖται τὰς κοινὰς συμφοράς, ἐπεὶ μόνος τολμᾷ τῷ βασιλεῖ προσιέναι καὶ λειτουργεῖν ὅστις, κατὰ τὸν ψαλμόν, ἐν ὁδῷ ἀμώμῳ πορεύεται"

[182]For the system of provincial administration in Europe under the Palaiologoi and the *kephalai* in particular see Maksimović, *Provincial Administration*, 117-166. As Maksimović observed (ibid., 121), the fourteenth-century vulgar version of Niketas Choniates mentions the sale of *kephalatikia* (*Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. I.Bekker, Bonn 1835, 584:"κεφαλατίκια καὶ τὰς ἐνοχὰς ἐπάκτευε καὶ ἐπώλει"-"he (Manuel I) leased and sold the *kephalatikia* and the financial comissions") but it is only elaborating on the original text and does not necessarily inform us on contemporary practice.

[183]Greg. I, 302

is highly probable that the person authorized to perform this transaction was none other than the *mesazon* Theodore Metochites (although the final appointment always came through an imperial decree)[184]. The discretion of the circumlocution is typical of Gregoras who was deferrent to his teacher but did not attempt to conceal what he considered as Metochites' grave mistakes in his public career. The general disapproving tone of the description may give the impression that this was a case of behind-the-curtains bribery rather than a normal procedure of appointment. However, I believe that Gregoras' criticism is mainly directed against the lack of political forsight on the part of Metochites, who allowed his greed to dominate his judgement, than at the legitimacy of the transaction[185]. A second known case concerns John Batatzes who bought in 1343 the governorship (ἐπιτροπεία) of Thessalonica for a large sum of money. According to Gregoras, his appointment was officially made by the empress Anne, but it is likely that the person who made the decisions was again the *mesazon*, in this case Alexios Apokaukos. Soon afterwards Batatzes' appointment was cancelled -"before he had time to profit more from it, as he wanted"- and Apokaukos' own son was sent in his place, a breach of faith on the part of the *mesazon* that prompted Batatzes to join the rebel Kantakouzenos[186].

It is not clear how exactly Batatzes -or, for that matter any other candidate- expected to profit from the exercise of his functions as *kephale*. It appears that by that time the provincial governors were taking some part in the collection of taxes or other dues from those under their control. Manuel Gabalas complained in a letter that the governors and commanders of his time "are no longer called to their post but they rather buy their post and are tax-collectors rather than military experts"[187]. The only profit that we know for certain for this period is connected to the *mitaton*, the right of the *kephale* to buy grain and other commodities at special low prices, in theory for the needs of the city's defense. The onerous character of this

[184]Maksimović, *Provincial Administration*, 124-125
[185]Other sources as well point to the unusual degree of Metochites' rapaciousness: see E.de Vries-van der Velden, *Théodore Métochite, une réévaluation*, Amsterdam 1987, 80-82
[186]Greg.II, 741; on this and the previous case cf. Maksimović, *Provincial Administration*, 125
[187]Gabalas Ep., 181:'"οὐκ εἰσκαλουμένους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ὠνουμένους μᾶλλον τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ φορολόγους, ἀλλ' οὐ στρατολόγους"

imposition is manifest from the privileges granted to cities, like Ioannina, or isolated proprietors relieving them from this obligation[188]. Some tolls, like the *skaliatikon* ("landing stage fee for ships" according to K.P.Matschke) or even the *kommerkion* were normally collected by the *kephale*[189]. However, concerning the *skaliatikon* the only early reference mentions *kephalades*, a term distinct from *kephale,* denoting an important person in general, although it is very likely that in this case the reference is to the governors[190]. As for the *kommerkion* and other tolls, it appears that the *kephalai* could be among those who had the right to collect them, but were not ex officio entitled to that[191].

There is no evidence in this period about an active involvement of the *kephalai* in marketing the commodities they requisitioned through the *mitaton* or in other ways. K.P.Matschke has located several cases from the period after 1350, where the office of *kephale* was an investment that paid off in commercial terms, as the *kephalai* became more actively involved in trade. The attitude, however, of the great aristocracy towards trade became more positive only after the destruction of the empire's rural resources in the mid-fourteenth century and the late cases do not tell us much about the likes of John Kantakouzenos, Syrgiannes or Theodore Synadenos. Interestingly, the only instances from our period where *kephalai* are involved in trading concern the two rival potentates from Chios, Leo Kalothetos and John Tzybos. Both were local *dynatoi* and belonged to a social group altogether different from that of the great aristocrats. Furthermore, the nature of the administration in the outlying possessions of Chios and Phocaea was probably different from

188Maksimović, *op.cit.*, 157-159; Matschke, "Notes on the Economic Establishment and Social order of the Late Byzanitne Kephalai", 139-140; cf. MM V, 83; P.J.Alexander, "A Chrysobull of the Emperor Andronicus II Palaiologos in Favor of the See of Kanina in Albania", *Byzantion* 15(1949-51), 181-182.
189Maksimović, *Provincial Administration*, 160, n.202; Matschke, *op.cit.*, 140, nn.10-13.
190Zogr.**XXXII**, 75
191See the 1317 chrysobull for Monembasia, MM V, 167: "ὀφείλουσι διατηρεῖσθαι ἀνενόχλητοι καὶ ἀδιάσειστοι παντελῶς ἀπό τε τῆς ἀπαιτήσεως τοῦ κομμερκίου, τοῦ διαβατικοῦ καὶ τοῦ πορτατικοῦ παρά τε τῶν κατὰ καιροὺς εὑρισκομένων εἰς κεφαλὴν τῶν εἰρημένων κάστρων (Sozopolis. Agathopolis, Nikomedeia) καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖσε τὰ δημόσια διενεργούντων"

that in the empire's mainland, allowing for much more initiative and control on the part of the locals[192].

The difference in the activities of the *kephalai* before and after the mid-fourteenth century corresponds largely to the different social and family origins of the individuals who held the provincial governorships. From Table IV it appears that all the appointees to provincial governorships were members of the high aristocracy, often related to the emperor and the offspring either of the old established families of high-ranking court officials or of recent admissions into that group. This is not surprizing, after all, given the military vocation of the high aristocracy and the mainly military character of late Byzantine city administration. After the transformations of the middle of the fourteenth century, however, the numerically depleted and financially ruined great aristocracy merged with the well-to do classes of lower status and the activities of the two -the gubernatorial functions of the high aristocracy and the entrepreneurial activities of the middle-low aristocracy- started overlapping. Thus in the later period K.P.Matshke has located governors-entrepreneurs with names such as Leontares, Mamonas, Sophianos, Rhadenos, Kolybas and Eskammatismenos, which had never appeared among the high aristocracy under the first Palaiologoi[193].

The fiscal offices, mainly the office of *apographeus*, censor, and after a point that of *doux* (formerly the administrative head of a theme), were staffed by people of middle- to moderately upper-class origins. As we saw in chapter I, many bore titles like *sebastos* and some advanced from these posts to the offices of the court hierarchy. Two court offices, the *domestikoi* of the Estern and Western themes appear to have had a functional connection with the fiscal administration and the activity of *apographeus*, as witnessed by both Pseudo-Kodinos and the documents[194]. Other offices, rather low-ranking ones such as

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[192]Matschke, *op.cit.*, 140-141. The case of Manuel Tagaris in Philadelpheia, mentioned by Matschke, is not indicative of standard activities of the *kephale*. It appears normal that in face of a grave siege the governor would attempt to place the city's grain supplies under his control. The hints at irregular procedures may be due to the enmity of the source, Manuel Gabalas.

[193]Matschke, *op.cit.*, 141, n.26

[194]Verpeaux, *Ps.Kodinos*, 188. See also George Strategos (Guillou, *Ménécée*, pp. 47, 51, 69, 83; Lavra II, 164, 171, 173, 306); Michael Atzymes (Gabras Ep., 232, 251-252)

orphanotrophos or *megas adnoumiastes*, are also encountered among the census functionaries[195]. Some officials appear as tax-collectors, such as the *primmikerios* of the court and the *megas dioiketes* who are accused for their extortions by patriarch Athanasios I[196]. There are references to the high profitability of the function of the *apographeus*, for example in connection to John Batatzes or Theodore Patrikiotes[197] but the exact way in which they profited from their posts in the framework of the late Byzantine fiscal apparatus is not clear. The documents almost always present to us the *apographeis* in their strict cadastral functions, to which they owed their appelation: delivering and confirming imperial grants, enumerating the resources and tracing the limits of properties and sometimes performing the function of *exisosis*[198]. Their functions, however, included at least the imposition/allotment of taxes, as becomes apparent from cases such as Constantine Cheilas or, again, Theodore Patrikiotes, who is addressed in that capacity both by Manuel Philes and Michael Gabras[199]. Maksimovic tends to consider the two functions separately, attributing to the *apographeis* only a cadastral function while the allotment of the tax was the task of the *energon* or *enochos*. But as the same author recognizes, the latter appelations were not official and they could vaguely denote any agent of the state's fiscal prerogatives. In fact, while some documents distinguish between *apographeis* and *energountes*, others include the *apographeis* among the *energountes*, which I think better represents the actual situation[200]. The *apographeus* was an *energon* himself, but of the highest authority, since most of the known apographeis are connected to the largest fiscal unit, the theme, whereas a simple

[195]On these see Maksimović, *Provincial Administration*, 191; the author thinks that these officials did not bear officially the title of *apographeus*, although their functions were identical, perhaps extending over a larger area.
[196]Athanasius Ep., 42, 56-58
[197]Greg. II, 741; Kantak.II, 59
[198]On the various functions of *apographeis*, see Maksimović, *Provincial Administration*, 203-215
[199]Greg.Cyp.Ep., letters 172, 175; Philes, 189,190; Gabras Ep., 287, 318
[200]See for example Kutlumus **10**, 60: "τῶν ἀπογραφομένων ἢ τῶν τὰ τοῦ δημοσίου κατὰ καιροὺς διενεργησόντων", compared to Esph.,**20** 137:"οὔτε ἀπογραφεὺς(...) ἀλλ' οὐδέ τις ἄλλος τῶν τὰ δημόσια ἐνεργούντων". In similar contexts, the *energountes* are often mentioned alone, which to me indicates that the *apographeis* were included in the term (Maksimović, *op.cit.*, 224, n.146, has calculated that out of 61 charters mentioning protection from fiscal officials the *apographeis* are mentioned only 20 times and the *energountes* 46 times). Maksimović, however, thinks that this happened because the *energountes* were more threatening to the large estates than the *apographeis* (*op.cit.*, 223-224)

energon would be connected to a subdivision, such as a *katepanikion*, often as a subordinate of the *apographeus*. A preserved notarial formula for the appointment of an *energon* makes that clear: it is the *apographeus* of a region (χώρα) who assigns (ἀνατίθημι) to someone the ἐνέργεια of a *katepanikion*[201]. Among the duties of the *energon* is the protection of the property of the "weaker ones", the hearing of controversies connected to ownership and the collection of the *aer* (τὸ διαφέρον σοι ὑπὲρ ἀέρος δίκαιον). This money is to be brought every month to the *apographeus*, who will give to the *energon* a receipt[202]. It is clear that the *energon* is subordinate of the *apographeus*, although it should be noted that the document does not mention the collection of taxes, with the possible exception of *aer*.

The main question that concerns us is whether the fiscal officials were as a norm the late empire's tax-farmers. There is no doubt that the Palaiologan fiscal system relied heavily on tax-farming. The scattered information that we have allows us some understanding of the process. It began with the prospective tax-farmers bidding for the commission. In a story of doubious accuracy reported by Kantakouzenos, the Domestic of the Western Themes George Strategos held a comission for the imperial salt-pans, perhaps within the context of his post as *apographeus* in Macedonia, attested by other sources. In order to renew the commission he sent to Constantinople his subordinate, Alexios Apokaukos, with a sum of money; but Apokaukos, using Strategos' money and promising double the amount that Strategos usually collected for the imperial treasury, managed to gain the commission himself[203]. Irrespective of the truth of the story, we can see that bidding for a comission had two parts: paying an amount in front, probably as a price for the office of tax-collector, but also equivalent perhaps

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[201]Sathas, *MB* VI, 641-642; Maksimović, *op.cit.*, 223, n.145, is reluctant to accept this document (a formula for the appointment of an *energon)* as indicative of general practice; to me however, it indicates at least the similarity in the functions of the *apographeus* and the *energon*.

[202]I do not necessarily think that here we have to do with the collection of taxes. True, the *aer-aerikon* often appears in the documents as one of many obscure supplementary taxes. But it appears unlikely that a fiscal official would only be assigned the collection of one kind of secodary tax. I think that in this case the *aer* is a fee for the *energon*'s services as judge, or a fine paid by the side that loses the case. This fee is given to his superior official, the *apographeus*, but against a receipt, probably because a portion of it belongs to the *energon*. The *aer* has occasionally been connected to the administration of low justice: see *ODB*, s.v. "Aerikon".

[203]Kantak.II, 89

to an advance, and promising a final sum to be brought to the imperial treasury after collection. That the main sum of the taxes was paid after their collection is also apparent by instances such as the interception by Andronikos III of the tax-collectors carrying the taxes of Thrace to the senior emperor[204].

Although in theory the Byzantine system of fiscal imposition determined quite objectively the amount that the tax-collectors could demand, it appears that -not surprisingly- they tried to make a profit. Gregory of Cyprus repeatedly denounced their rapacity in his correspondence: "What just and customary receipt or which ancient rate and model of imposition is kept by those who buy the public dues and finances? I have never been a merchant or seller of commodities, yet I have always heard that one has to pay to the imperial treasury such an amount per ten and such an amount per hundred. Now[...] the wretched merchant cannot pay just that, but whatever the collector demands. And if someone asks for the reason and why so much, the *praktor* is content with replying that he bought that from the emperor"[205]. In his correspondence with the patriarch the *mesazon* Theodore Mouzalon claims, no doubt rhetorically, that the part tax-collectors kept for themselves was larger than the part brought to the imperial treasury[206]. In any case, it seems that the tax-farmers would hardly have the margin to draw a profit, unless they also had the charge of determining the tax and evaluating the land, that is unless they also were *apographeis* or acted in concert with them. Unfortunately for our argument, there is only one case of an *apographeus* who also collects taxes, that of Alexios Tzamplakon in 1326, but even then it is not clear that he actually demanded them for himself and did not just allot them[207]. A *doux* in Thrace by the name of Aminseles was qualified by Gregory of Cyprus as φορολόγος καὶ δασμολόγος, which indicates that he collected taxes, and as λωβητὴρ τῶν δημοσίων, which indicates that he was making money out of it[208]. But it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the

204Greg. I, 392
205Greg. Cyp. Ep., letter 134
206Ibid., letter 118
207Guillou, *Ménécée* **19**, 76
208Greg. Cyp.Ep., letter 174

persons who already had the apparatus and know-how in order to conduct the census locally would be the ones most likely to be assigned the collection of taxes as well. The fact that the function of *apographeus* was usually acquired by a collegium of two and sometimes three functionaries may indicate that it was an entrepreneurial activity requiring the investment of a large capital and a sufficient economic basis to face eventual setbacks, as would be the case if tax-farming were involved. Indeed, next to the success stories of Alexios Apokaukos, John Batatzes and Theodore Patrikiotes, there were several people who were ruined because they were unable to collect what they had promised, such as a certain Monembasiotes who asked for the intervention of the patriarch on his behalf[209]. Maximos Planoudes mentions an unnamed friend of his who, "following the general madness", assumed the charge of tax-farmer together with certain colleagues, but could not collect all of the sum promised and faced the danger of torture (a natural resource of the state, since it was likely that tax-farmers could conceal their gains)[210]. It is possible that the financial ruin of some *apographeis*, such as Theodore Padyates, should be ascribed to such failed activities[211]. Some fiscal officials risked the wrath of the state if in the search for profit they pitched themselves against influential individuals, as happened with John Theologites, *apographeus* in Macedonia and Thrace (an indication of the magnitude of his operations) who tried to defer a payment in grain to the patriarch (presumably the grain was collected as tax in kind) and harassed tax-exempt lands of the church (sometime in 1282-1289). At the intervention of the patriarch he lost his comission and also faced the danger of more serious consequences. However, as the end of a letter of Theodore Mouzalon to the patriarch reveals, the ultimate purpose of the emperor's tough treatment was to extract more money out of him[212]. In view of the risks involved, it would not be surprising that the comissions of *apographeis* remained for decades in the hands of a few individuals or associates. Sometimes a sort of family tradition could be

[209]Greg. Cyp. Ep., letters 117, 118
[210]Planoudes Ep., 8ff.
[211]It is reminded that Padyates had to mortgage his daughter-in-law's dowry when he lost all his fortune and was unable to redeem it: Patr.Reg.I **101**, 570-572
[212]Greg. Cyp. Ep., letters 115, 116, 134

created: apart from the above-mentioned John Theologites, we know of a Manuel and a Nicholas Theologites, both *apographeis* in Macedonia in subsequent decades[213]; Bardales, Apelmene or Balsamon are also names encountered in more than one *apographeis*. It may not be by chance that two fiscal officials, George Strategos and Theodore Padyates, contracted a marriage alliance, although we never encounter them as a collegium in surviving documents.

The derogatory tone adopted by Kantakouzenos in connection with the fiscal functions of Alexios Apokaukos should not lead us to generalize about the attitude of the high aristocracy towards this kind of economic activity. The same author reserves a very different treatment for his own supporter, Alexios (Arsenios) Tzamplakon although, as we saw, he had been involved in that kind of activities as well. After all, even *kephalai* were involved in profiting from taxes. There are some examples of individuals combining the function of *kephale* with that of *apographeus*. Three of them, Constantine Tzyrapes, Theodore Padyates and John Balsamon, are encountered in Lemnos between 1303 and 1321. None is a high aristocrat (unlike most *kephalai* in that period) and it appears that the two commissions were usually given out as one[214]. The other two are Alexios Tzamplakon, who was also *kephale* of Serrai and Popolia, and Theodore Palaiologos who, while being *kephale* of Boleron, Mosynopolis and Christoupolis, also had the *demosiake enoche* of Boleron and Serrai (note that the areas of his two authorities do not coincide) together with his colleague John Tarchaneiotes (1325-26). This case is extraordinary, both because of the strange mixing up of areas of jurisdiction (Tzamplakon was independent as *kephale* of Serrai, but for the fiscal jurisdiction in the same area he was subordinate to the collegium of Palaiologos-Tarchaneiotes) and especially because these colleagues are the only bearers of high aristocratic names that we encounter among fiscal officials in this period[215].

213Guillou, *Ménécée*, pp. 47, 51, 80
214Lavra II, 125, 127, 151, 154, 176, 290 (Tzyrapes); 175 (Padyates); Patmos I **43**, 314 (Balsamon)
215Guillou, *Ménécée* **16**, 69; **17**, 71; **19**, 76

When talking about the profits of office one should not forget the bribes and payments accepted by high imperial officials who had access to the emperor, or were entrusted with assigning various commissions, fiscal or administrative. Obviously the person best placed to draw advantage from his position was the *mesazon*, the chief minister to the emperor. Again, we have the famous example of Theodore Metochites. His immense fortune, which was confiscated after his fall in 1328, was said to be "the blood and tears of the poor" paid to him by those who bought the city governorships -and this information is again provided by the favourably disposed Gregoras[216].

There is a factor in the profitability of offices that is even harder to calculate. It is the profits gained through the exercise of personal power of command. Such power could be lawful or arbitrary, but is to be distinguished from the normal function connected with an administrative office. A certain degree of unofficial authority was connected -but not restricted- to provincial administrative posts. Not only the *kephalai*, but the fiscal officials as well had some sort of commanding power, which was often put to legitimate use, either within or beyond their normal functions. Thus the fiscal official in the area of Charioupolis, a certain Blastaris, undertook in 1316 to conduct an investigation about a priest accused of Bogomilism[217]. Logariastes, the fiscal administrator of Skamandros, took away a soldier's pronoia and inflicted physical punishment on him for a clearly non-fiscal offense (the soldier was accused of adultery with his stepmother)[218]. The charges of the apographeus Tryphon Kedrenos seem to have included the maintenance of order in various cities (unless Manuel Philes is referring with exaggeration to the equitable exercise of Kedrenos' duties)[219]. Such power, however should be distinguished from the illegal and abusive exercise of authority, a notion sometimes described in the sources as *dynasteia*. Thus, when Michael Doukas Philanthropenos wished to acquire a metochion near Smyrna owned by George Kaloeidas,

[216]Greg. I, 426
[217]Patr.Reg.I 42, 298-300
[218]Greg. Cyp. Ep., letter 129
[219]Philes-Martini, 49-50

the latter consented "forced by the *dynasteia* and the greatness of such a man", although he had already sold the metochion to Lembos[220]. Laskaris, the *kephale* of Kanina and Aulon in Albania, seized δυναστικῷ τρόπῳ Venitian merchandise worth 1162 hyperpyra and another official in Aulon, Theodore Lykoudas, seized by *dynasteia* the mortgages that a Venitian held from Lykoudas' relatives, merchants of Ioannina[221] . Andronikos Asan occupied in the same way the houses of a Venetian[222]. In all these cases *dynasteia* is an unlawful extension of the lawful authority of a governorship or command[223]. But *dynasteia* can be also connected with the legally unfounded power wielded by lords wihin their domains. A paroikos who sold his land to the Maliasenoi for an extremely low price in 1271, noted thet they could have "occupied the land as their lords and masters, since the entire area [...] had been granted to them by the [...]emperor". In spite of that, the act bears in the beginning the usual provision that it was concluded "(ἄνευ) ἀρχοντικῆς καταδυναστείας"[224]. In 1315 a certain Phordenos took illegaly, through his *dynasteia*, the land of peasants in Bithynia[225] and in 1333 there was mention of the *dynasteia* by which a Kasandrenos had dominated the area of Strymon. In this latter case we may have to do not with a landowner but with an official, perhaps that supporter of Andronikos III during the civil war who was outlawed in 1324[226]. In practice, *dynasteia* bears some resemblance to the western notion of *bannum*. From a juridical point of view, however, *dynasteia* has a markedly illegal, abusive character that

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220MM IV, 102
221MM III, 109
222MM III, 108
223For *dynasteia* in the writings of Chmatianos, see H.Saradi, "On the 'Archontike' and 'Ekklesiastike Dynasteia' and 'Prostasia' in Byzantium with Particular Attention to the Legal Sources: a Study in Social History of Byzantium", *Byzantion* LXIV(1994), 110-116.
224MM IV, 397. On that passage see Kazhdan, "State, Feudal and Private Economy in Byzantium", 92-93. According to the author it indicates that extra-legal factors were usually much more decisive in questions of property than the theoretical notion of ownership. But according to Saradi, *op.cit.*, 336-339, the Maliasenoi were careful not to break the law formally: they bought the properties for a very low price, but the remaining amount was considered as donation of the sellers to their monastery. On the clause *"aneu dynasteias"* and on the *dynasteia* in general as a notion within the context of Byzantine law, Saradi, *op.cit.*, observes that the term *dynasteia* first appears in late antiquity but is developed in Byzantium, particularly in the 10th century as a manifestation of the state's concern. However, as the author remarks:"the more the power of the upper class was assured [...] the better the social problem was defined in legal terms".
225Patr.Reg.I 9, 160-162
226Zogr. XXIX, 71. See PLP 11313 for further Kasandrenoi to whom he may be identified.

differentiates it from *bannum*. Whenever *dynasteia* comes to the surface in our sources it is in a condamnatory way. On the other hand, such abusive behaviour may have been a very common part of the economic activities both of officials and important landowners. In fact, "dynastic" intervention is denounced in the documents only after the agent is no longer around (as is the case with Kasandrenos, Phordenos or Philanthropenos) or when a powerful patron, such as the Venetian republic, upheld the interests of those wronged.

The profits of war must certainly have been a source of considerable income for the aristocratic military commanders during successful campaigns or raids, but we do not know almost anything about them. We do not know whether by that time there was a prevailing custom for the division of booty. In tenth-century theory the treasury got one sixth of the collected booty and the soldiers the rest, while the reward of the commanders was left to the discretion of the emperor; there is reason to believe that even then these precepts were not always applied[227]. Theodore of Montferrat, son of Andronikos II, states in his *Enseignemens* that the soldiers should not be allowed to keep the booty they take, but it should be collected by the commander and distributed at will ("a sa franche volenté")[228]. In the late period booty must have consisted mainly of livestock and movable goods, which could be carried away in a raid, unlike grain or other bulky commodities[229]. Perhaps in Asia Minor Turkish slaves were part of the booty in the rare cases of Byzantine success, but in Europe selling Christian captives into slavery was not an option. However, during the wars Turkish allies were allowed to take slaves from among the populations controlled by the enemy and perhaps some Byzantine commanders profited from that.

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[227]*ODB* s.v."Booty"

[228]Chr. Knowles (ed.), *Les Enseignements de Théodore Paléologue*, London 1983, 74-78. I owe this reference to prof. A. Laiou

[229]In Albania in 1336, the soldiers of Andronikos III captured an enormous number of oxen, horses and sheep, which they were unable to carry off with them (Kantak.I, 497)

Trading and financing activities

Any discussion of the issue of trading and financing activities among the aristocracy should take into account the marked change that occurs in this aspect towards the middle of the fourteenth century[230]. For the period before that turning point there is no reference at all to any involvement of the high aristocracy in trade. There are some interesting cases where great aristocrats contracted loans with Western merchants for enormous amounts. The 1324 treaty with Venice mentioned that the *epi tes trapezes* Palaiologos had borrowed 5,400 hyp. in Ioannina, Andronikos Palaiologos more than 4,000 hyp. and Michael Kaballarios Sophianos 4,207 hyp., while by 1332 Andronikos Asan owed 47 pounds of ducats[231]. Although at first sight these sums seem too large to concern normal consumer expenditure, we may be underestimating the magnificence of these aristocrats; some types of expenditure, e.g. construction of an aristocratic mansion, could conceivably require such sums. But the case of Palaiologos, who had contracted the loan while in Epiros and that of Sophianos, who probably did the same in Morea, suggest the possibility that this money was intended to cover military expenses in moments when financial assistance from Constantinople was not at hand[232].

There are sparse instances of involvement of aristocrats of lower origins and status in trade. It will be remebered that the *sebastos* Nicholas Kampanos, one of the conspirators who handed Thessalonica over to John III and subsequently *prokathemenos* of the city and *apographeus* of its theme, had travelled to the imperial court in Melnik under the pretext of trade[233]. It has also been noted that the *dynatoi* and subsequently governors of Chios, Leo Kalothetos and John Tzybos were involved in trading activities[234]. But such indications are scarce and it does not appear that even the aristocrats of middle and low origins invested their

[230]See Oikonomidès, *Hommes d' affaires*, 120-123

[231]MM III, 102, 103, 107

[232]In the case of Sophianos I am more willing to accept a possible involvement in trade, because of his probable family background. The Sophianoi were from Monenmbasia, a prominent trading center even in this period, and in the second half of the century they appear as prominent traders. See Ch.II, note 337

[233]Akrop.I, 80: "πραγματείας προφάσεως χάριν"

[234]Matschke, "Notes on the Economic Establishment and social Order of the Late Byzantine Kephalai", 140

gains in trade, at least to any significant degree. This should not particularly surprise us; trade was an uncertain investment while for most of the period under study immovable property and speculation with state comissions in the provincial and fiscal administration offered much more profitable alternantives.

It was only after the ruin of the state and the devastation of the empire's countryside during the second civil war and the following years that trade began to appear as an attractive investment. At the same time the aristocracy underwent an internal transformation, as groups who had until then been in its fringes ascended to fill up the vacuum left by the depleted high aristocracy. Already in 1348 the patriarchal register presents us with an aristocratic family that exemplifies the new tendencies, the Xanthopouloi[235]. Before that time this family was mainly represented by certain socially insignificant intellectuals -known mainly through their correspondence- among whom the most illustrious was the ecclesiastic and author Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos[236]. During the civil war the family had penetrated the aristocracy of court offices. Two sons of Constantine Xanthopoulos and his wife, Alexios and Demetrios had been *orphanotrophos* and *stratopedarches* respectively, while their sister had been married to the *megas diermeneutes* Nicholas Sigeros. Another sister, however, was married to a merchant, Manuel Sideriotes, who was already involved in the Black Sea trade in 1347 and had lost his fortune in the events of Kaffa that year. Sideriotes' daughter, Maria was married to a certain Antiochites, son of a Genoese woman named Syriana. The Antiochitai were another middle-class family, represented earlier mainly by a Constantinopolitan money-lender and by a correspondent of various intellectuals of the time[237]. As it appears from Syriana's marriage, they had connections with the Genoese, probably related to trade. We see therefore a middle aristocratic family which had been rather recently promoted forming relations with non-aristocratic families who had already began to get involved in trade

[235]Patr.Reg.II 151, 400-410; on that family and their relatives see K.-P. Matschke, "Byzantinische Politiker und byzantinische Kaufleute im Ringen um die Beteiligung am Schwarzmeerhandel in der Mitte des 14. Jh." *Mitteilungen des Bulgarischen Forschungsinstitutes in Österreich* 2/VI/1984, 76-79; On Sideriotes/Ferro see also Laiou, "Byzantine Economy", 191-192
[236]PLP 20802, 20805, 20806, 20807, 20811, 20816, 20826
[237]Patr.Reg.I, 438 (instead of PLP 1033); PLP 1032, 1034

activities and had connections to the Italian merchants, mainly the Genoese who dominated the Black Sea trade. This case also hints at a possible answer to the problem of the availability of capital at that time among aristocratic families: already in November 1348 the two sons of Xanthopoulos, their sister and their niece Maria, as well as Maria's husband, Antiochites, and his two brothers and three sisters were dead of the plague, while Xanthopoulos' widow had fallen ill but managed to survive. This Xanthopoulina inherited her granddaughter's dowry of 800 hyp. and the dead children of Syriana left to her a sum larger than 3,000 hyp (although none of them was as important as an aristocrat)[238]. We may imagine that the physical depletion of the ranks of the aristocracy left the few surviving heirs with a considerable capital in cash and movable wealth, even as the rural resources of their families were lost to foreign conquest.

The lack of information does not allow us to give a clear answer to a question that is of paramount importance for the understanding of social and political events during the fourteenth century. We know that, in Constantinople and Thessalonica at least, there existed early in that century merchants who may have been quite important, if we judge from the sums of money that were owed to them by Venetians[239]. Did they come from the same families as the middle and low aristocracy, or did they represent a different social milieu? In the absence of names, one can only speculate. I think it likely that they came from the same urban families as the aristocrats: these families, as attested in Thessalonica for example, had a remarkable tendency to expand over the entire spectrum of activities connected with the Byzantine middle class: they would give court officials, fiscal entrepreneurs, clerics and church officials, intellectuals and soldiers. It would not be surprising if they also gave merchants. On the other hand, I do not think that the members of the low aristocracy themselves were seriously involved in trade activities, mainly because they had more profitable and secure ways of investment, in the exploitation of state resources.

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[238]1,000 from her married daughter who had died childless, 1,000 from her two sons, 1,000 from her unmarried daughter, perhaps a *legaton* from her third daughter and an unknown amount from Antiochites.
[239]*DVL* I, 127

Some aristocrats were involved in money-lending, such as Demetrios Spartenos who had lent before 1284 159.5 hyp. to the former archbishop of Thessalonica,Theodore Kerameas[240]. But usually the sums involved are so small (compared with the sums that foreigners lent to Byzantines -see above) that we cannot talk of a systematic enterprise. We may suspect something like that when the lenders are also involved in other economic activities, such as the tax-collector George Dishypatos who lent 325 hyp. to a certain Marmaras, taking his houses as mortgage[241]. Cases that do not involve cash at all, like Maria Aspietissa Choumnaina, who lent her jewelry to the clergy of the metropolis of Didymoteichon, are probably unconnected with systematic financial activities[242].

Conclusion

The fragmentary nature of our sources does not allow us to follow the evolution of a single aristocratic property in its entirety, unlike the properties of the Athonite monasteries for example. All we have are snapshots reflecting the situation of part of a property in a given moment in time and, even then, only exceptionally do we have some information on the entirety of an aristocrat's holdings. Furthermore, the large properties of the great aristocracy, that were undoubtedly the most important of all, are even more under-represented. But the evidence is at least sufficient to make us understand how the system worked; this in turn allows some plausible conclusions about the economic behavior of the late Byzantine aristocracy. The most characteristic phenomenon is the instability of large fortunes, which resulted in large part from the division of properties in the course of transmission, while there was no long-term strategy capable of preventing this process. This instability reinforced the role of the state as regulator of the distribution of the empire's resources through the system of state grants. The circumstances of the reconquest of the European provinces -the only

240 Lavra II 75, 32
241 Patr.Reg.I 74, 438
242 Patr.Reg.I 75, 440

territories remaining after the loss of Asia Minor- made state grants the predominant source of ownership rights for large aristocratic properties. Property held in full ownership -τελεία δεσποτεία- continued to exist both as a notion and as a reality. But at the top level, that of great aristocratic properties, it lost much of its relevance as the owners increasingly sought the security of confirmation of their "freedom" by imperial decree. The attribute that determined the status of property now was the *douleia*, the burden of state control, and the lack thereof, *eleutheria*. The old notion of the late Byzantine state as plighted by prodigal give-away emperors should perhaps be modified, since at the same time the crown asserted for itself more and more a degree of control over ownership, even while it was guaranteeing to some properties complete independence. After all, in practice there was no such thing as permanent alienation of the state's rights. The only possible exceptions were the large monasteries and even they had to persevere and constantly "lobby" the court in order to protect their rights from infringement. For most other cases the fact that the state maintained the power to intervene arbitrarily assured that a large proportion, possibly the majority, of properties ceded would eventually revert to the crown, which thus renewed its ability to remunerate its servants and provide for its favorites. Table III shows how common it was for aristocratic properties to end up being confiscated or simply taken away, even against the provisions of guaranteeing documents.

The general feeling of insecurity is echoed in a contemporary literary piece, Alexios Makrembolites' *Dialogue between the Rich and the Poor.* In it the rich, who are being accused by the poor of insensitivity to the poor's misery try to defend themselves by evoking their own distressful situation; not surprisingly the main element in it is the arbitrariness of the state and the extreme difficulty of maintaining a large fortune: "Why, then, are you not moved by *our* misfortunes? You ignore, it seems, the wrath of the rulers against us, the intrigues and denigration of our peers, the crawling envy against the more fortunate, and how much thought we have to devote to the accretion of our properties and again, how great is the anxiety attached to their maintenance". The reason for this is the decline in the empire's

fortunes: "Now no territory of a province is left to us (the Empire). You [...]forget that now it is we who are enslaved by all those peoples who were then under our sway". As a result, "[the emperors] now, forced by need, even seize the property of the dead, for their sources of revenue have diminished"(tr. I.Sevcenko)[243]. The more powerful aristocrats, those closer to the emperor, were not necessarily better protected than their lower-ranking peers. Disgrace was a common phenomenon and one which was not limited to periods of civil conflict or dynastic change. During the relatively calm middle period of Andronikos II's reign, some very important aristocrats, including the emperor's own brother, Constantine, his brother-in-law, Michael Doukas Angelos, and his uncle, Michael Strategopoulos, had their properties confiscated following their disgrace[244]. The fall of Andronikos II brought the ruin of other prominent aristocrats, such as his second son, the despot Constantine (and presumably his other sons as well) and his immensely rich *mesazon*, Theodore Metochites, while a confiscation had followed the disgrace of Syrgiannes some years earlier[245]. The number of aristocrats of a lower status who were exposed to disgrace and loss of fortune must have been very large, especially during the civil wars; the grant to John Margarites in 1342 was made up of confiscated properties of Kantakouzenists[246].

In the face of this instability, every new generation of aristocrats was faced with the task of rebuilding a patrimony based on only parts of the parental inheritance. Whoever had the privilege of being the only surviving child could have a head start in this competition, as the case of John Kantakouzenos eloquently demonstrates. Kantakouzenos placed his bets on the rising star of Andronikos III and ended up being the most important, and perhaps the most wealthy, person in the empire. In general, there were two ways in which a patrimony

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[243] I. Ševčenko, "Alexios Makrembolites and his 'Dialogue between the Rich and the Poor'", *ZRVI*, 6(1960), 212-213 (224-225 in the translation); the last sentence of this passage may be connected to the immediately preceding phrase and refer to the treasure troves. But I think it more likely that it refers to properties reverting to the crown after one's death, against the expectations of the heirs. The antithesis between this and the preceding sentence is still there: While the emperors of old allowed the subjects to keep even what belonged to the state (treasure finds), present-day emperors even take what belongs to the subjects by depriving them of the right to inherit.
[244] Pach.II, 161; 407
[245] Greg. I, 363-4, 356, 426
[246] Lemerle, "Praktikon de Karakala", 281-285

could be built up. The first was a good marriage, with the ensuing dowry: no less a person than Andronikos II himself wished to ensure the future of one of his sons by marrying him to a girl with a large dowry, the daughter of Nikephoros Choumnos[247]. The second and by far the most important way was a career in public service, which would bring new imperial grants as well as the various profits of office. It is not surprising that in this context the most important form of investment was not in financial activities or even in expanding and improving agricultural properties, but in the state mechanism itself, either through tax-farming or through the purchase of offices. Unlike earlier periods, when a title or an office brought a fixed monetary income, in this period it is impossible to compare the relative profitability of this sort of investment to investment in land or other activities. Still, the conclusion from all the above considerations indicates at least the greater importance of this in the long term. This realization leads to some disturbing questions. It is known that in the early Palaiologan period the empire's resources were shrinking, as the new acquisitions in Thessaly and Epiros could not offset the loss of Asia Minor and the deterioration of the revenue-producing capacity of land and peasants in Thrace and Macedonia. On the other hand, both the offices of the court and the posts of the provincial administration were limited in number. Court offices, even allowing for some exceptions of split tenure, could not have far exeeded seventy. We do not know how many administrative positions there were, but the *kephalatikia* in Europe must not have been more than a few dozen at any given time. Under stable political conditions the number of those with a claim to them would have been increasing with each new generation. It appears, therefore, that the late Byzantine system of distribution of aristocratic properties was breeding starkly competitive and potentially explosive conditions. But before attempting to connect them to the political evolutions of that period, it will be necessary to examine more closely the internal dynamics of the aristocracy as a social group.

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247 Pach.II, 289

IV. THE ANATOMY OF THE ARISTOCRACY

So far we have been examining the aristocracy essentially as a group of individuals. In order, however, to understand the long-term social and political role of the aristocracy it is necessary to examine the internal dynamics of that group and in particular the ways in which its members aligned themselves into smaller clusters or subgroups, thus forming allegiances as well as channels for the transmission of prestige, wealth and social position. Obviously, the most basic subgroup of that kind is, as in most social groups, the family. The role of family and kin appears even more important if we remember that, as it was stated in Chapters I and III, there was a broad correspondence between the aristocratic subgroups as defined by the nature of offices held, and the bearing of certain family names, while the occupants of the most important offices and commissions usually were connected to the emperor by ties of kinship, real or honorific. In order to assess the real role played by the family in this context, it is necessary to attempt to define this notion with greater precision.

The "term" family" is defined in many different ways in sociological and historical literature. Generally speaking, most definitions take in account bonds of two kinds, biological (such as the bonds between parents and children) and socio-economic (as in the case of the Roman *familia*, that included not only relatives, but also slaves and other dependents under the economic and juridical dominance of the *pater familias*)[1]. The Byzantines themselves, including those of the late period, did not have a word with the same semantic breadth as "family". The modern Greek *οἰκογένεια* is not attested, but both its components, *οἶκος* and *γένος* were used[2]. It can be said that in a very general way they correspond to two different

[1] I have consulted P.Laslett, "Introduction" in P.Laslett/R.Wall (edd.), *Household and Family in Past Time*, Cambridge 1972, 23-28; R.Wall, "Introduction" in R.Wall (ed.), *Family Forms in Historic Europe*, Cambridge 1983, 6-13; F.and J.Gies, *Marriage and the Family in the Middle Ages*, New York 1987, 3-15; see also Laiou, *Peasant Society*, 72-78; D.Herlihy, "Family", *American Historical Review* 96(1991), 1-16 introduces the emotional factor as well: while the ancient (particularly Roman) family was conceived as a socioeconomic and occasionally juridical unit, medieval people started perceiving the family as a group bound emotionally.

[2] This observation is made both by D.Herlihy, *Medieval Households*, 2 (with ancient, rather than Byzantine terminology in mind) and E.Patlagean, "Familles et parentèles à Byzance" in A.Burguière, Ch.Klapisch-Zuber, M.Segalen, F.Zonabend (edd.), *Histoire de la famille*, 1, Paris 1986, 424-426.

senses of "family", the family corresponding to the household and the extended family, a larger group of people united by kinship. It should be noted here that *oikos*, as a term, did have a connotation of "household", attested for example in the related term *oikeios*, but in this period it usually denotes only the house, in the physical sense[3].

The present research will not be so much concerned with the household, nor with the family as the restricted kinship group that corresponds to it[4]. It will examine whether, beyond that, we also have in this period the existence of families in another sense, that of larger kinship groups, either vertical (ancestral lineages) or horizontal (networks of living relatives)[5]. For these two aspects of the family, the vertical and the horizontal, the discussion will use the terms "lineage" and "extended family", but first these shouls be further clarified.

"Lineage" appears in modern historiography with two different meanings. Sometimes it is the equivalent of what the French have traditionally called "lignage": "an aristocratic 'house' whose identity over time is assured by a landed estate, claims to office, titles or other relatively exclusive rights"[6]. In medieval Europe this sense of continuity was -after a time and in most areas- consolidated along a male agnatic line of descent, so that *lignage* is equivalent to a narrow agnatic line of filiation[7]. The French "lignage" has been employed in this sense to denote the emergence of a sense of family continuity among the Byzantine aristocracy in the middle Byzantine period[8].

Another sense of "lineage", which I think is more appropriate for the discussion of the Byzantine aristocracy, denotes a "branching unilineal descent group in which ties are traced genealogically" and which may include both males and females[9]. In order to distinguish between the two meanings of the word, I will be using *lignage* to denote the former notion and "lineage" for the second.

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[3]See P.Magdalino, "The Byzantine Aristocratic Oikos" in Angold, *The Byzantine Aristocracy*, 92-11
[4]The two are to be distinguished, since a household can include non-members of the family, e.g. servants
[5]Gies, *op.cit.*, 7
[6]J.Goody, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe*, Cambridge 1983, 227-228
[7]Ibid., 228
[8]Patlagean, "Familles et parentèles", 426-427. The author specifies that she is using *lignage* "avec le sens médiéval". An equivalent here is "lignées patrilinéaires"
[9]Goody, *loc.cit.* and p.295

In the absence of primogeniture, patrlineal agnatic lines would break into branches, that would share both ancestry and family identity. It is these horizontal groups of contemporary relatives, potentially bearers of the same family name, that I define as "extended families". In spite of the fact that paternal transmission of family was not an absolute norm (in the twelfth century connection to the imperial family through a female ancestor was considered equally, or even more important than patrilineal affiliation to another family) this notion of extended family was strong enough to serve for Byzantinists as the guide for the investigation of the aristocracy from the tenth to the thirteenth century. As I am going to argue, this notion is no longer applicable in the case of the Palaiologan aristocracy.

Since the aristocracy was, as we saw, a rather heterogeneous group whose members came from different social and family origins, it seems better to begin by limiting the examination to the most prominent subgroup, the "high aristocracy". Because this subgroup was very partially represented in the documentary sources, it remained on the periphery of our examination of the geographical location and the economic basis of the aristocracy. On the other hand, the members of this group and their relationships with each other and with the imperial family have enjoyed a much greater visibility in other types of sources and have dominated the prosopographical and genealogical research on that period. We are therefore in a much better position to examine such phenomena as intermarriages, bonds of relationship and transmission of names among the high aristocracy. Still, there are problems. For example, the nature of the evidence means that we only hear about *some* of the children born to an aristocratic couple. Thus, while the *praktika* for the Athonite monasteries allow us to extract some indicative figures about peasant households, such as the average family size, the number of children, the sex ratio, or -in an approximate way- the life expectancy for men and women, no such calculations are possible based on the random information for aristocratic families, and although some general trends can be discerned, the resulting picture is rather impressionistic. Also some sources are more detailed than others in furnishing information about family names. A funerary epigram, for example, or an inscription is more likely to give

a full list of the names borne by an aristocrat, on account of his/her ancestors from both parents' sides, than a passing mention in a document, when some aristocrats are denoted either by only one family name, some by two and some by no family name at all, but only by their office. For example we are still in no position to tell the family connections of the *Megas Stratopedarches* Alexios and the *Megas Primmikerios* John, the two most prominent military commanders of the 1350s[10]. When the aristocrats themselves sign a document they use the family name(s) that they prefer, together with their official distinctions, e.g.: "The servant and *gambros* of our mighty and holy lord and emperor, John Palaiologos Kantakouzenos, the Grand Domestikos[11]" Narrative sources usually give only one family name, that by which the person in question was most widely known. This kind of information can be telling, but it is of little use unless we know the genealogical affiliations of that individual. In spite of all the lacunae, however, we can draw an accurate picture of the nature of the aristocratic family under the Nicene state and the first Palaiologoi.

I. The high aristocracy and the structure of the aristocratic family

Genealogical research has been part of Byzantine studies since their very beginnings as can be witnessed by the work of Charles du Fresne du Cange[12]. Ever since that date, however, genealogical and prosopographical investigations have been following -sometimes even in their title- a preconceived notion of the existence of aristocratic "families", identical more or less with all the persons who bear a particular name through the centuries[13]. Some authors, particularly those dealing with family names that ended up by becoming extremely

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[10]See the notes in Lavra III 137, 68-70; also Pantocrator, 3ff.
[11]The example is from Kutlumus 18, 87
[12]Ch, Du Cange, *Familiae Augustae Byzantinae*, first part of his *Historia Byzantina*, Paris 1680 (repr. in Brussels, 1964)
[13]Starting with the *Familiae* of the previous citation, we end up today with such indicative titles as D. Nicol's *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca.1100-1460* or subtitles such as "Prosopographische Untersuchung zu einer byzantinischen Familie" (used both in Hannick/Schmalzbauer, "Synadenoi" and Schmalzbauer, "Die Tornikioi in der Palaiologenzeit"). Of course the fact that they perpetuate somehow this problematic notion of family does not detract from the substantial value and inherent quality of some of these works, such as the two articles just cited.

common, such as the name Doukas, realized that the persons included did not form a family in any sense of the word and attempted to make a distinction based on whether the family name was inherited from the parents, from more distant ancestors, or whether its origins were unknown[14]. Even that, however, does not prove very helpful when discussing the high aristocracy of the Palaiologan period. As a matter of fact I have not been able to locate any certain case of an aristocrat bearing a family name that was not borne by either of his parents (women are a separate case, since they also assumed names borne by their husbands). If the family names that were inherited from the parents were accepted as an indication of belonging to a family, an individual would belong to about four families at a time, not to mention those to whom he or she would be related to through marriage. Nicol attempted to propose a system of "dominant" and "subordinate" family names, based on a rather unclear mixture of factors, including transmission through men as a trait of "dominant" names, while names transmitted through women are the "subordinate" ones[15]. This, however, is not supported by the evidence. The name "Doukas", for example, although inherited from the mother's side did not play any subordinate role at all in the case of John III, who used it exclusively, instead of his paternal "Batatzes", as did his brother and nephew[16]. In the Palaiologan period, the paternal name of Alexios, son of Michael Tarchaneiotes, was completely eclipsed in all sources by his maternal name, Philanthropenos; this was not a sign of dominant versus subordinate names, since Alexios' brother was only known by his paternal name,

[14]This distinction is employed by D.Polemis, *The Doukai.* London 1968. It is also advocated by G.I. Theocharides in his review of Nicol, *Kantakouzenoi*, in *Ἑλληνικά* 23(1970), 126-132. It is rejected, though, by Nicol in "The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos, some Addenda and Corrigenda", *DOP* 27(1973), 309-315

[15]Nicol, *op.cit.*, 314:"The family of Kantakouzenos, unlike that of Doukas whose name survived beyond the twelfth century very largely through intermarriage with other noble families, continued to be a fairly well-defined social group in the hierarchy of the Byzantine ruling class up to and beyond the fall of Constantinople. Their members as often as not played a dominant and not a subordinate role in matrimonial alliances with other families. Nor does it follow for them, as it does for all the Doukai of the later period, that 'even those whose genealogical position is totally untraceable, must belong to other families, which inherited the name through some female ancestor'"".

[16]John III signed as John *Doukas*, as in MM IV, 4; Akropolites standardly refers to him as John Doukas but adds in introducing him that he was "known as Batatzes" (οὗ Βατάτζης τοὐπίκλην); Akrop.I, 26. Pachymeres only uses Doukas (e.g. Pach.Ii, 97, 187). See also Polemis, *Doukai*, 107, n.7 and 108, n.1. On his brother, Isaac Doukas, and Isaac's son, John, see Akrop.I, 101. It appers that both brothers were using Doukas as their main, or -in the case of John III- only name, but popularly they could still be designated by their father's family name.

Tarchaneiotes. The correspondence of family names to real family structures is a more complex system which had been evolving with time ever since the appearance of aristocratic families in Byzantine sources.

Although it appears that already in the eighth and ninth century the important magnates of the imperial administration were often related to each other and to the emperors by bonds of kinship, it is only in the tenth century that we can clearly discern aristocratic families united not only by kinship but also by common interests and aspirations, who bear a family name, transmissible from father to sons[17]. Even then the phenomenon was limited to some great families of Anatolian magnates and military commanders (such as the Phokades, Maleinoi, Skleroi, Doukai) while few real family names (as opposed to nicknames) are attested in other milieux. Even in the above cases it should be remembered that usually the sources that report family names date at least from the following century. A.P. Kazhdan in his studies on the appearance of the Byzantine aristocracy places the origins of most important aristocratic families of the eleventh-twelfth centuries around the reign of Basil II, while J.C. Cheynet emphasizes by comparison the continuities between the eleventh-century families and those of the previous century[18]. In any case, one can discern some main characteristics in the structures of aristocratic families in the eleventh century: family names are rather stable and are transmitted patrilineally; family allegiance probably follows this pattern. On the other hand, a sense of solidarity reaches beyond the narrow limits of the patrilineal family to all those who have some bond with the family, distant relatives and even family friends, as witnessed by the actual behavior of aristocrats during crisis. In that context, inter-family marriages were not equivalent to a merge between two families, but often marked a strategic alliance and created a mutual obligation of support. It was such an alliance that brought Alexios Komnenos, husband of Irene Doukaina, to the throne in 1081. In this

[17]Thus forming agnatic *lignages*, in the sense described above (p.211)

[18]Kazhdan, *Social'nyj sostav*, 221-225; Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 213-237, 256. The 'early' appearance of aristocratic families is also supported by E. Patlagean, "Les débuts d' une aristocratie byzantine et le témoignage de l' historiographie: système des noms et liens de parenté aux IXe-Xe siècles" in Angold, *The Byzantine Aristocracy*, 23-43

instance, however, the importance of the support of the Doukas family for Alexios' bid and the prominence that the Doukai claimed, alongside the Komnenoi, in the new regime allow us to speak of an eventual merge between the two imperial families, made more effective by a series of further intermarriages that continued throughout the twelfth century. At the same time, the new emperor inaugurated a policy of reserving all the high titles and important offices for his relatives. Most of the other important aristocratic families, therefore, attempted to ally themselves by marriage to the ruling "clan"[19] of the Komnenoi-Doukai. For the descendants of these marriages it was extremely important to demonstrate and emphasize their relationship to the reigning dynasty and in order to do that they began occasionally to use the family names of Komnenos and Doukas, even when they were not borne by their fathers. For example, of the two sons of Anna Comnena and Nikephoros Bryennios, one bore the name Komnenos and the other the name Doukas, both transmitted through their mother[20]. Admittedly, in other cases the less prominent paternal name continued to be preferred and it does not appear that the pattern of family names was in any way predictable. Even in the case of the succeeding dynasty of the Angeloi, we observe that while the brothers Andronikos and John had claim both to their paternal name of Angelos and their maternal of Komnenos (-Doukas?), the descendants of Andronikos (i.e. the emperors) kept to all appearences their paternal name but the descendants of John (i.e. the despots of Epiros) only refered to themselves as Doukai Komnenoi.

The structure of the high aristocracy under the Lascarids

It seems that Theodore Laskaris did not follow his predecessors' practice of forming a large network of marriage alliances, or at least did not manage to: one of his sons-in-law was a Palaiologos, but he did not survive his father-in-law; of Theodore's two sons one

[19]On the sense of "clan" see n.38 below
[20]But the son of one of them, John Doukas, was called Komnenos: Polemis, *Doukai*, 113 (No. 78); Anna herself appears in the sources both as Doukaina and Komnene (Barzos, *Genealogia* I, 176 n.2).

predeceased his father, while the other was a boy at Theodore's death -the fact that he is not heard of again surely indicated that he did not live for long either. Theodore's brothers fell into disgrace under his successor and son-in-law, John Doukas (Batatzes) and either were blinded or had to leave the empire. John Doukas was not able to built such a network either, although the descendants of his brother, Isaac Doukas, intermarried with a branch of the Angeloi, the Strategopouloi and the Palaiologoi[21]. In the case of Theodore II we have a new instance of preferring the maternal last name (Laskaris) while the paternal one (Doukas, since there is no evidence that John III ever used "Batatzes") was kept as a secondary name[22]. The progressive alienation of the imperial family from the rest of the great aristocracy may have been the result of chance, but it precluded any tendency towards a merge of aristocratic families around the Lascarids, such as was manifested under the Komnenoi, the Angeloi and, soon afterwards, the Palaiologoi. In the Nicene period it appears that most aristocratic names are patrilineally transmitted. Therefore they correspond to agnatic *lignages* with some coherence and unity[23]. A notable exception are the imperial names Komnenos and Doukas. Few are the individuals who are known only by these names and, even then, it is likely that they were used instead of another paternal name, as was the case with John III[24]. Most often they appeared as additions before the "real" (the patrilineally transmitted) family name, in order to confer a seal of nobility, the special lustre of being of imperial blood. Thus among the neighbours or benefactors of the monastery of Lembos in Asia Minor we encounter individuals such as Theodore Komnenos Philes, the Komnenoi Branades or the Doukai

[21]Isaac's son, John, married a daughter of John Angelos. Their daughter, Theodora, Married Michael Palaiologos (Akrop.I, 101). Isaac's daughter married Constantine Strategopoulos (Pach.II, 154)
[22]No document with the full signature of Theodore II has been transmitted to us. In a document of Michael VIII he is refered to as Theodore Doukas Laskaris (MM IV, 221). Most other sources, including the 13th-C. editor of his correspondence, refer to "Theodore Laskaris, son of John Doukas" (e.g. Lask.Ep., 1). But most conclusive is the emperor's seal :"Ἀνακτόπαιδα Δούκαν, ἀθλητά, σκέποις/ Θεόδωρον Λάσκαριν τὸν βασιλέα" (V.Laurent, *Les bulles métriques dans la Sigillographie byzantine*, Athènes 1932, No 19);
[23]It is unfortunately very hard to connect the various known aristocratic individuals of the Nicene period and form relatively complete genealogical trees. The Palaiologoi are a notable exception (see V. Laurent, "La généalogie des prémiers Paléologues" in *Byzantion* 8(1933), 125-149). But some isolated instances of father-son relationships seem, when combined, to confirm this view.
[24]E.g. Alexios Komnenos (MM IV, 290) or Theodore Doukas (ibid., 216)

Aprenoi[25]. The possibility that more family names were also added to an individual's appelation during this period cannot be completely excluded, since we do not have the kind of sources, such as poetry or inscriptions, that usually give the complete roster of an aristocrat's names and that we possess for the preceding and the following period. However, we do not find any combination of two names of which the middle (therefore the 'secondary') one is not Doukas or Komnenos, therefore it appears that, with this exception, aristocrats did not usually combine more than one family names. Another characteristic phenomenon is the existence of several branches of some families: the parents of Michael VIII came from two different branches of the Palaiologoi, both well entrenched in the high aristocracy, yet at least distant enough in blood to make a wedding possible among relatives[26]. The "dispersion" of names is more characteristic in the case of the Angeloi. Although the name of a former imperial family, "Angelos" was not used in the Nicene period as a lustre-adding middle name, like "Komnenos" or "Doukas", but occaisonally it was itself complemented by one of those two names. On the other hand there is a very large number of Angeloi who are obviously not members of one family and sometimes of quite distant social status. For example, among others they included a duke of the Thrakesion theme and grandfather of Michael VIII's wife, a *logariastes* of the court under John III and an obscure *stratiotes*[27].

It is very hard to tell whether these aristocratic families of the Nicene period were real networks of mutual support characterized by a community of interest, at least within the separate branches. Some indications could point to that: when Michael VIII became emperor, he promoted not only his brothers, but also more distantly related Palaiologoi, such as his cousin, Michael Palaiologos, who became *mystikos* and even a honorary cousin, Andronikos, coming from a Western Greek branch of the Palaiologoi, who became *protostrator*. Behind the latter's promotion there were possibly other reasons of a political nature, but it is telling

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[25]MM IV, 104, 114, 141, 213, 225, 273-283

[26]Laurent, *op.cit.* In the late thirteenth and fourteenth century the closest degree of kinship where marriage was permitted was the eighth, but there were some exceptions (see below)

[27]For John Angelos see MM IV, 36f, 40-42, 85, 295; for Manuel Angelos Pach.II, 296; for Michael Angelos (not "Angeas" as in the edition) MM IV, 241

that a distant family relationship, denoted by a common family name, was mentioned by our source, Pachymeres, and not considered irrelevant.

In this context, it is worth discussing the famous passage from Pachymeres describing the gathering of great aristocrats after the death of Theodore II and the murder of the appointed regents in 1258. The whole passage runs as follows:

For those reasons [the aristocrats] frequented more continuously the emperor and spent the day with him, while most of them also spent the night. As for the marks of goodwill and faith towards him, they took pains to demonstrate them to each other in a clear way and as if these could not be surpassed. But they also competed among themselves and began to quarrel. This competition was the result of their ambition. They doubted each other's care for the emperor and each of the dignitaries did not suffer to be subordinate to his peers. For among them were the Tzamantouroi, scions of the Laskareis, adorned with old age and wisdom.; furthermore, the fact that they were related to the young emperor and were like grandfathers to him greatly encouraged the liberty of their demands. Among them were also those who drew their descent from the Tornikioi, among whom the first was Grand Primmikerios. They too had a strong stake in this issue, since their father was close to the youth's grandfather, the emperor John Doukas, and was called brother by him in his letters. Also among them were the Strategopouloi, a family whose more glorious member was Alexios, who carried great respect with everyone because he was very old and also because he had accomplished many deeds. His son, Constantine, had been deemed worthy, because of his distinction, to marry the niece of the emperor John, but was later deprived of his eyes immediately after Theodore Laskaris became emperor. The reason was that he disdainfully looked down at the ruler and manifested his haughtiness towards him, soon after [Theodore] had succeeded his father to the throne. [There were] also the noble sons of Rhaoul, still young in age (whose father had lost his office as we said already) and the Palaiologoi. Together with them were the Batatzai and the sons of Philes (whose father, Theodore, had been blinded together with Strategopoulos for the same reason), together with the Kaballarioi were the Nestongoi and the Kamytzai, together with the Aprenoi and the Angeloi were the Libadarioi, the Tarchaneiotai, the Philanthropenoi and the noble Kantakouzenoi and all the others who formed the highly born and golden chain[28].

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[28]Pach.Ii, 91-93:"Ἐντεῦθεν καὶ συχνέστερον μὲν ἐφοίτων πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ διημέρευον σὺν ἐκείνῳ, οἱ πλείους δὲ καὶ διενυκτέρευον· τὰ δὲ τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὐνοίας καὶ πίστεως, καὶ μᾶλλον φιλοτιμούμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐνεδεικνύοντο ἐμφανῆ καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἄλλως γε μείζονα. Ὅμως καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐφιλονείκουν καὶ ἐρίζειν ἀπήρχοντο. Ἡ δὲ φιλονεικία ἐκ φιλοτιμίας σφίσιν ἐτύγχανεν· ἠμφισβήτουν γὰρ ἀλλήλοις τῆς περὶ τὸν βασιλέα φροντίδος, ἑκάστου τῶν ἐν ἀξιώματι ὄντων μὴ φέροντος τοῖς ὁμοίοις ὑποτετάχθαι. Ἦσαν γὰρ ἔνθεν μὲν οἱ ἐκ Λασκαρίων Τζαμάντουροι, γήρᾳ τε καὶ συνέσει κεκοσμημένοι, οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὸν νέον βασιλέα συγγενῶς ἔχειν καὶ παππικῶς πολλὴν ἐνεποίει τὴν τοῦ ταῦτα ζητεῖν παρρησίαν, ἔνθεν δὲ οἱ ἐκ Τορνικίων τὸ γένος ἕλκοντες, ὧν ὁ πρῶτος καὶ μέγας πριμμικήριος ἦν· εἶχον γοῦν καὶ οὗτοι τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἀμφιβαλλόμενον ἰσχυρόν, τὸ ἀπὸ πατρὸς οἰκεῖον καὶ ἀδελφικὸν ἐν γράμμασι πρὸς τὸν τοῦ νέου πάππον καὶ βασιλέα Ἰωάννην τὸν Δούκαν. Ἐκεῖθεν οἱ Στρατηγόπουλοι, ὧν τοῦ γένους ἐπίδοξος ὁ Ἀλέξιος, πολλήν φέρων τὴν αἰδῶ ὡς εὔγηρως ἀπὸ πάντων καὶ πλεῖστα προσέτι κατωρθωκώς· οὗ καὶ ὁ παῖς Κωνσταντῖνος, γαμβρὸς ἐπ' ἀδελφιδῇ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωάννου, ἐξ ἀριστείας φανείς, ὕστερον στερῖται τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ἄρτι Θεοδώρου τοῦ Λάσκαρι μοναρχήσαντος· αἰτίαν δ' ἔσχεν ὡς

This passage seems at first to suggest that we have to do with aristocratic "houses", united in promoting the interests of their members and represented by the most prominent of them. It is noteworthy, though, that whenever the author becomes more precise, we only see narrow families consisting of first-degree relatives. The Tzamantouroi-Laskareis are in reality the two brothers of Theodore I; "those descended of the Tornikioi" are really only the sons of Demetrios Tornikes, the powerful *mesazon* of John III; the Strategopouloi are Alexios, a prominent military commander, and his blind son; the Rhaoul are the sons of the *protovestiarios* Alexios; the Philes are Theodore, the blind ex-commander, and his sons[29]. It could well be, therefore, that all these aristocratic "houses" are really a few families of a "narrow", even nuclear, type that owe their prominence to one succesful member, although there is an obvious tendency for the sons to perpetuate the distinction of the fathers. In other words, we see that although many aristocratic families/*lignages* of the twelfth century had survived into the thirteenth and even broken up in several branches, the high aristocracy of the Nicene empire on the eve of the Palaiologan usurpation was limited to a few of these branches, those whose members managed to attain high office, mainly under the reign of John III. The high aristocrats were related to the emperor but, for reasons that have been mentioned, few were members of his immediate family: with the exception of Theodore I's brothers (who had both spent most of their lives away from the empire) and the nephews of John III (John Doukas was married to an Angelina and their daughter was the wife of Michael Palaiologos; John's sister was married to Constantine Strategopoulos; a sister or cousin was married to Alexios Rhaoul) Theodore II did not have among the aristocracy any relatives closer than the sixth or seventh degree. Even those few within that circle, including Rhaoul, Strategopoulos and Palaiologos, had been alienated by Theodore's autocratic policies

καθυπερηφανεύοιτο τοῦ κρατοῦντος, ὑπεροπτικῶς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἔχων, νεωστὶ μετὰ τὸν πατέρα τῶν σκήπτρων ἐπειλημμένον. Καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Ῥαοὺλ εὐγενεῖς ἄλλοι, μετὰ τὸν πατέρα τὸν τοῦ ἀξιώματος ἐκπεσόντα, ὡς φθάσαντες εἴπαμεν, ἔτι νεάζοντες, καὶ Παλαιολόγοι. Σὺν οἷς καὶ Βατάτζαι καὶ οἱ τοῦ Φιλῆ, ὧν ὁ πατὴρ Θεόδωρος τετύφλωτο καὶ αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ Στρατηγοπούλῳ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκείνῳ χάριν αἰτίας, σὺν Καβαλλαρίοις τε οἱ Νοστόγγοι καὶ οἱ Καμύτζαι, σύν τε Ἀπρηνοῖς καὶ Ἀγγέλοις οἱ Λιβαδάριοι, Ταρχανειῶται, Φιλανυρωπηνοὶ καὶ οἱ εὐγενεῖς Καντακουζηνοί, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι οἷς ἡ μεγαλογενὴς σειρὰ καὶ χρυσῆ συγκεκρότητο"

29The actual presence of the blind persons is not mentioned in this passage but it can be inferred from Pach.Ii, 65, where they are present at a similar gathering a few days earlier.

and enmity. On the other hand frequent intermarriages tied those aristocratic families together to each other. The two daughters of Andronikos Palaiologos were married to a Tarchaneiotes and a Kantakouzenos while his son, the future founder of the dynasty, was married to a woman from one of the many surviving branches of the Angeloi. The daughter of the Tarchaneiotes-Palaiologina couple was given in marriage to a Kaballarios, although later it was alleged that this had been done under the pressure of the emperor[30]. A daughter from the Branas family was married to Theodore Philes[31]. Demetrios Tornikes had been married to a first cousin of Andronikos Palaiologos[32]. In other words, an aristocratic family network had been created, but this time it was not centered around the imperial family which was only remotely connected to it.

Changes under the Palaiologoi

When Michael Palaiologos usurped the throne in January 1259 the stage had been set for a major restructuring amidst the high aristocracy. From the very beginning of his reign the new emperor adopted an innovative practice in his documents: he began signing his name as Michael Doukas Angelos Komnenos Palaiologos, the first emperor to use more than one family name officially[33]. It should be mentioned that a precedent had been set by the rulers of Epiros-Thessalonica who sometimes signed as Komnenoi, more often as Doukai and rarely with both these names[34]. But it is also noteworthy that this family completely abandoned the paternal name of Angelos. The reasons are not very clear, but they must certainly be connected to the rivalry for the heritage of the empire after 1204: it is possible that these rulers wanted to dissociate themselves from their unworthy relative, Alexios III (who also

[30] A.Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen*, Munich 1938, nos. 22, 28, 29; Papadopoulos' deductions about Martha's children have been revised; especially the connection to Michael Doukas Tarchaneiotes Glabas is not accepted (see PLP 27504)
[31] MM IV, 225
[32] Akrop.I, 93
[33] For the date of the practice see Iviron III **58**, 92, a document issued in January 1259, immediately after Michael's accession
[34] See the references in Polemis, *Doukai*, 89-90 (no. 42, Theodoros Doukas), 91-92 (no.45, Michael Doukas) and 93-94 (no.48, Michael Doukas), incl. the notes

happened to have ended up in the hands of Theodore Laskaris) and stress their relationship to the previous dynastic family, the Komnenoi (something which perhaps Theodore Laskaris could not do[35]). The case of Michael VIII is obviously different. It is not clear whether he adopted this formula as a new signature after his accession or whether this had been his complete appelation already while he was a private person. The fact that the complete formula was used in his very first documents, without a transition period, could support the latter answer. But it should be noted that it was unusual for anyone before that time to bear more than two last names. As it has been said, the usual practice was to combine the paternal family name with Doukas *or* Komnenos[36]. The despots of Western Greece were an exception, but even they did not use more than two family names. It should also be noted again that Angelos, the other name adopted by Michael, although it had belonged to an imperial family, did not belong to the same special category as Doukas or Komnenos but "functioned" until then like most other family names. I would tend therefore to believe that Michael VIII was indeed innovating by listing before his name all the imperial dynasties whose blood run in his veins. That he wanted to make a political rather than a personal or family statement is perhaps indicated by the fact that his brother, the Despot John, continued to sign simply as Palaiologos[37]. At the same time though, Michael probably set a model that would be extensively imitated by the new "clan" that would become the high aristocracy of the new era[38].

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[35]Laskaris may have had Komnenian blood, but he probably was not very closely connected to that family: see Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 444

[36]There are some exceptions from the Comnenian era, e.g. the (Eu)phorbenoi Katakalon, father and son, known from Zonaras and Anna Comnena with both these names (Barzos, *Genealogia ton Komnenon* I, 199-200), or the Bryennioi Katakalon (Barzos, *op.cit.* II, 112-113). Manuel Kamytzes (Barzos, *op.cit.*, No.175, 690-713) only bore one name, but specified in his seal that he was a "Komnenodoukas from his mother". In some other cases one of the two names is foreign, which could explain the exception: e.g. Rogerios Dalassenos, Teichomeros Tornikios.

[37]MM IV, 386. In a lost act, whose attribution is conjectural, he reportedly signed as Komnenos Palaiologos (Esph. 20, note 64). The emperor also refered to him by that name (Chil. 18). In any case, this pattern follows the already dominant practice, rather than the one introduced by Michael VIII.

[38]I am using "clan" as others have done (for example Kazhdan for the twelfth-century parallel of the Komnenoi), although I suspect that this "extended imperial family" does not have all the traits of such a formation. Unlike a "clan", for example, this group was not defined by reference to a real or fictional common ancestor; endogamy, another characteristic of a clan, was not the rule, although it was common. (Goody, *Development of Family and Marriage*, 233-237)

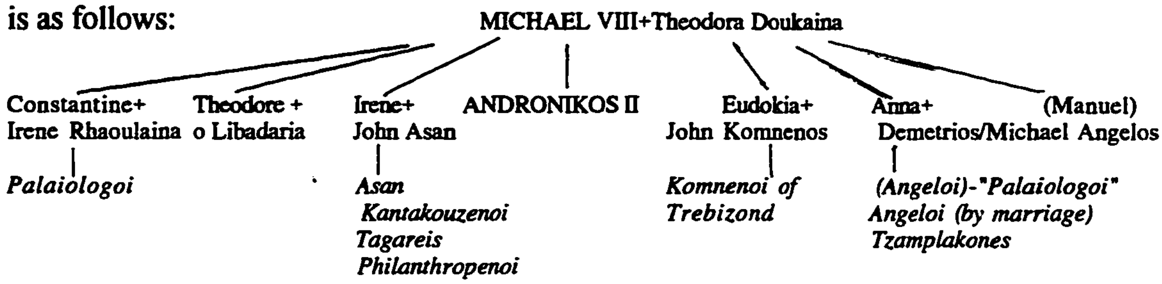
The core of this new aristocracy was the immediate family of the new emperor, that is his brothers and his sisters with their husbands and their offspring. Very schematically, this first group of imperial relatives can be reproduced in the following "trees". In italics are the various names of aristocrats who were descended from the intermarriages of the four branches in the following two generations. For the sake of clarity in showing how the intermarriages worked I am conventionally using a system based on paternal family names although in practice these were not the only ones borne by the aristocrats of the next generation and sometimes they were not used at all in common practice. For example the pinkernes Alexios, who went by his maternal last name of Philanthropenos, is among the "Tarchaneiotai" descended from Martha, since the purpose of the "tree" is to show the intermixing of family lines and not names. The plural should not be taken literally; sometimes only one representative of a line is known.

Andronikos P.+Theodora P.

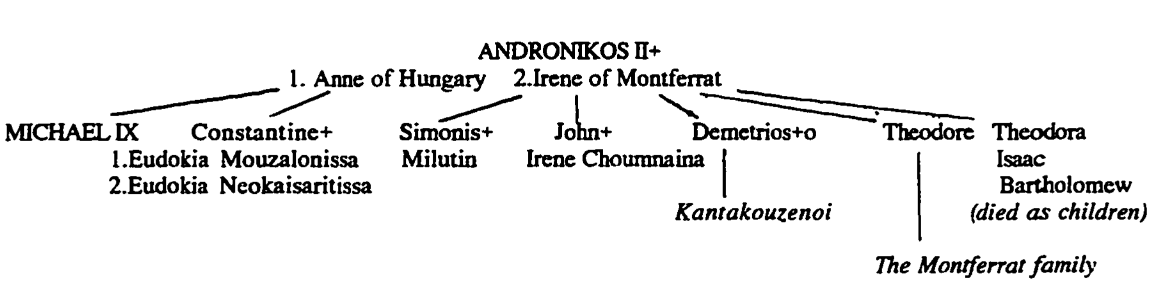
John P.+ o Tornikina	Constantine P.+ Irene Branaina	MICHAEL VIII	Maria/Martha+ Nikephoros Tarchaneiotes	Irene/Eulogia+ John Kantakouzenos
Maliasenoi	*Palaiologoi* *Synadenoi* *Tornikai*		*Tarchaneiotai* *Kantakouzenoi* *Angeloi*	*Angeloi* *Senachereim* *Rhaoul*

In this circle of relatives were inserted the vertical descendants of Michael VIII, who surpassed the others in prominence, at least as far as this was determined by the degree of relationship to the emperor. Leaving aside for the moment the progeny of Andronikos II, we observe that the "direct" Palaiologoi that we know of are rather few, descended from the Porphyrogennetos Constantine. On the other hand, the two foreign rulers that married daughters of Michael VIII and settled in the empire as Despots, John Asan of Bulgaria and Demetrios/Michael Angelos (again, the name is used conventionally) of the Western Greek despotate, became the ancestors of many prominent aristocrats, who remained in the forefront until the end of the period under study. It is parenthetically interesting that the "Koutroulai",

the descendants of Michael Angelos, abandoned their paternal names of Doukas-Komnenos and appear only as Palaiologoi, just as their ancestors had abandoned the name Angelos. By contrast, the patrilineal descendants of the Bulgarian royal house always kept Asan as their name of preference. Again, the schematic representation of the new inner circle of aristocrats is as follows:



The progeny of Andronikos II did not seriously challenge the prominence of the lines described above. Except for the direct imperial line, it appears that all the other branches of Andronikos II's family were short lived: three of his children, Theodora, Isaac and Bartholomew died young. The descendants of Theodore, marquis of Montferrat, lived away from the empire, in Italy. Simonis and the Despot John did not have any children. The Despot Demetrios had at least one daughter, married to Mathew Kantakouzenos, but no other child of his can be traced in the sources. Finally, the fact that Andronikos II was allegedly thinking of bestowing the imperial title to the illegitimate son of the Despot Constantine, Michael Katharos, is an indication that Constantine had no legitimate male children. Again, the schematic representation is as follows:



Of Michael IX's children, Manuel, the second-born, died childless at a young age. Michael's two daughters, Theodora and Anna, got married to rulers of Bulgaria and Epiros respectively. Although they returned to the empire after their husbands' deaths, there is no

evidence that any of their descendants also came back with them. The children of Andronikos III were still young at the end of the period under discussion and their generation will not concern us here. It can be said therefore that the above scheme describes essentially the definite formation of the network of the high aristocracy around the imperial family.

To those who were directly descended from the Palaiologan emperors should be added on occasion the families of women who married close relatives of the emperor entitling sometimes their fathers to be called *sympentheroi* of the ruler. Examples of such relations are the *pinkernes* Libadarios, whose daughter married a brother of Andronikos II, Nikephoros Choumnos, whose daughter married the same emperor's son, the Despot John, Theodore Metochites, whose daughter married the Caesar John Palaiologos, son of the *porphyrogennetos* Constantine and grandson of Michael VIII, or the *grand logariastes* Kokalas whose son-in-law was Andronikos Palaiologos (Angelos), another grandson of the same emperor. In all these cases, however, the marriage was a sign of favor and a recognition of a prominence already achieved de facto and was not by itself the main step in the success of those individuals. It should be noted here that all the emperors after the dynasty's establishment took foreign brides and therefore the family connections of the empresses did not affect the structure of the aristocratic network. Ever since the late eleventh century and the marriage of Michael VII to Maria the Alanian it had been standard practice for all reigning emperors or prospective heirs to chose their brides from foreign ruling families[39]. This should perhaps be connected to the parallel rise of the aristocracy to power and the increasing importance of being related to the emperor. The family of an empress would be a rather unwelcome participant in the competition for positions and offices and would confuse the rules of the game or, in any case, it would enjoy an undue advantage over its peers[40]. It is possible that the same reasoning prevailed under the early Palaiologoi and that would perhaps

[39]Naturally, this does not include those who owed their position as prospective heirs to their marriage with the emperor's daughter, like Theodore Laskaris or John Doukas Batatzes (whose second marriage, when he was emperor, was to a foreign princess, Constance of Hohenstaufen)
[40]There are many instances of this in the earlier period, when the emperors married Byzantine women. Examples include the family of Theodora in the ninth century, Stylianos Zaoutzes, father-in-law of Leo VI, and, of course, Romanos Lakapenos.

explain the sudden opposition to John Kantakouzenos' regency in 1341 and his isolation in his attempt to give his daughter in marriage to the young John V. It is interesting that one of the accusations brought by Kantakouzenos himself against Alexios Apokaukos was that he intended *his* daughter to become the emperor's bride.

Of course this network left outside some important aristocratic lines of the preceding period. Some of them must have retained their prominence for a while. The Nestongoi, whose main branch were cousins of Michael VIII, are not known to have married into the imperial family after 1259, yet they remained important until the end of the century and even beyond (a Doukas Nestongos was *Megas hetaireiarches* in the early 14th c.). But it is noteworthy that, in general, those families who did not renew their relation to the ruling Palaiologoi gradually lost their importance. To take as an example the families enumerated by Pachymeres in the above related passage, we see that no patrilineal descendants of the Laskaris family are noticeable in this period. The son of Constantine Strategopoulos, the *protostrator* Michael, retained his importance thanks in part to his being a first cousin of the empress-mother Theodora, but after his disgrace his family disappears form the front stage. The Batatzai as well disappear from the high aristocracy: the famous *protokynegos* of that name was, we are told, of obscure origins. The last two important Kaballarioi, a *megas konostaulos* and a *domestikos tes trapezes*, both died in the Thessalian campaigns of the 1270s. Later aristocratic bearers of the name are of lesser importance and outside the high aristocracy. The Kamytzai were completely eclipsed after 1259. The Aprenoi disappear during the whole of the fourteenth century. The name Philanthropenos did of course survive as one of the most prominent family names of the Palaiologan period; it is not certain however that these Philanthropenoi were patrilineally descended from the Grand Duke Alexios of the beginning of Michael VIII's reign. There is a short gap after him and it is possible that most subsequent important Philanthropenoi had that name from female ancestors. Apart from these families of the "golden chain", we should also note the eclipse from the front stage of other families that had been prominent until then, such as the Branades

(although the name survived in prominence through the wife of Michael VIII's brother) or the Kontostephanoi. Interestingly, a similar observation concerning the decline of those aristocratic families that did not form alliances with the imperial family has been made by A.P. Kazhdan concerning the transition from the eleventh century to the Comnenian era[41].

The Palaiologan system of family names

It is in the generation after Michael VIII that we first encounter the practice that characterizes the Palaiologan aristocracy in its fully developed stage, that is, the assumption of several family names drawn from among the stock of names of an individual's ancestors both from the father's and the mother's side. The exact appearance of this practice cannot be dated exactly[42]. In documents it does not appear before the first decades of the fourteenth century and the earliest instances do not come from the high aristocracy: in 1304 there is a mention of Athanasia Tzainissa Tzytapina, although it is not clear whether both names are family names and one of them is not a sobriquet; in 1306 the emperor made a grant to Manuel Angelos Patrikios; a document of 1309 introduces a soldier called George Kontostephanos Kalameas and his wife, Irene Kontostephanina Kapandritissa[43]. The narrative sources do not usually report more than one family name. Akropolites, writing sometime in the 1260s, strictly adheres to that rule. He even explains why Theodore II was called Laskaris ("the appelation of his emperor grandfather"). His only peculiarity is that he refers to Michael Palaiologos consistently as "Komnenos". Perhaps Michael was indeed using that as a secondary name before his accession, following the established pattern of adding Komnenos or Doukas to a family name. But there is no other evidence that he was ever called only by that and Akropolites' use of the name is certainly an undisguised attempt to flattery. The next

[41]Kazhdan, *Social'nyj sostav*, 173ff.
[42]A seal cited by V.Laurent (*Les bulles métriques dans la sigillographie byzantine*, Athens 1932, 155, no.445) and dated around 1263 mentions Michael Kalothetos Abalantes. But the dating rests on an identification with the ambassador Michael Abalantes and not on any other, sigillographic, indication; it can therefore be put into doubt. The seal of a certain Goudellios Tzykandeles (V.Laurent, *La collection C. Orghidan*, Paris 1952, p. 240, nos.478-479) is dated to the twelfth century but again, the dating is not certain, neither is the use of Goudellios as a family name and not a first name.
[43]Chil.21, 46-47; 23, 50; Iviron III 71, 178

major narrative source is Pachymeres, who is however writing at a much later date, soon after 1305. Although he also restricts himself to the mention of one family name, presumably the one by which each person was more widely known, some instances let us understand that the new system of family names was already in place at the time of the composition of the *History*. In one case he clearly informs us that the second son of the *protovestiarios* Tarchaneiotes was named Alexios Philanthropenos after his maternal grandfather, the first case where this is attested for someone other than the emperor. Although Pachymeres standardly refers to a famous commander as "Glabas", he once adds to his name "Tarchaneiotes". And again, talking about a lady from among the Arsenite leaders he refers to her as "Nostongonissa of the Tarchaneiotai", adding immediately that she was the sister of "John Komnenos", no doubt the same person that had been until than referred to as "John Tarchaneiotes".

The "gap" between the accession of Michael VIII and the beginning of the fourteenth century can be partially bridged by the poetical work of Manuel Philes. Philes, for whose work the earliest established date is 1294, employs various ways of referring to his subjects' family affiliation allowing us a glimpse at the possible stages of the evolution of the new system. One way, which may presumably have served as a bridge to the new system, was the enumeration of the subject's ancestors[44]. The families represented in the person concerned are mentioned, but their names are not actually attributed to the subject him- or herself. Such an example is Helen, the wife of the Grand Stratopedarches Rhaoul[45]. According to Philes, "her paternal grandfather was Alexios, sprung of the Komnenoi, emperor of the land of the Ausonians"; her father was a "Doukas, bearing the appelation of Grace (John)"; "her mother was again Tornikina Komnene, a jewel among women, descended from the Rhaoul". In what

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[44]This figure of expression is also encountered in twelfth-century epigrammatic poetry, but usually in order to indicate connection with the ruling family of the Komnenoi-Doukai: see for example the verses of Theodore Prodromos (*Historische Gedichte*, ed.W.Hörandner, Wien 1974), "Κομνηνόθεν γὰρ ἐξέφυν καὶ Δουκόθεν"(p.336); "σεβαστὸν 'Ανδρόνικον 'εκ μητρὸς Δούκαν καὶ Καματηρὸν ἐκ πατρὸς λογοθέτου"(p.469);"Δούκα πατρὸς προῆλθε Καισαρεκγόνου καὶ Κομνηνὴν ἔσχηκε λαμπρὰν μητέρα"(490)

[45]According to the identification of Schmalzbauer, "Tornikioi", 120-121. Her name is not given in this poem (Philes I, 253)

represents the next step, the ancestral family names are attributed as personal assets to the subject; thus the *protohierakaria* Melane boasts posthumously of her ancestry: "What do I need to tell here of the Synadenoi, Sampson Gabalas and also the Skouterioi, the Strategopouloi, the Doukai bearing the angelic name (i.e. Angeloi)[46]?"Another dead lady was "of the Doukai and in fact the Paraspondyloi, the soldierly Angeloi issued of the Komnenoi"[47]. Finally Philes adopts the definitive form, in which all these family names become last names of one person: "Constantine Tarchaneiotes Doukas born of the Komnenoi and Glabades writes these to Thee"[48]; "the pitiful servant Manuel Phakrases Sideriotes says these to the bishop of Myra"[49]; "Andronikos Komnenos Asan, from his father, Palaiologos says these to Thee, the Virgin"[50]. Sometimes the existence of more than one last names is used by the same poet in a playful way: "Michael Senachereim bears the ring/ but the ring is an ornament to Monomachos"(Senachereim and Monomachos are here the same person)[51]. There is no indication that these varieties correspond to distinct chronological phases of Philes' poetic activity; more likely they depend on the needs of each particular composition. But I think that they may provide a clue as to the meaning of the new practices in name-bearing, since they show the importance attached to the family pedigree not only of the father and the paternal ancestors, but also of all the ancestors of note, at least within the immediately preceding two generations.

After the first decade of the fourteenth century the system appears fully evolved. The *typikon* of the monastery of Good Hope (*Bebaia Elpis*), composed sometime after 1321, with its miniature portraits and their inscriptions is an example of a document where the full potential of the new system is employed: most of the aristocrats named in the document are given several last names, usually three or four for men, while women can bear as many as

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[46]Philes I, 87
[47]Philes I, 292
[48]Philes I, 37
[49]Philes I, 291
[50]Philes II, 75-76
[51]Philes II, 141

six[52]. The combinations of names of the same person in the text of the *typikon* and in the illustrations may vary: for example the husband of the foundress is named John Angelos Doukas Synadenos in the text and John Komnenos Doukas Synadenos next to his miniature portrait; her son is simply named John Palaiologos in the text and John Komnenos Doukas Synadenos, just like his father, in the illustration[53]. Another interesting observation is that ancestors who were contemporaries of Michael VIII, particularly Michael's brother, the Sebastokrator Constantine, and his wife, are also given multiple family names: Constantine Komenos Palaiologos Doukas Angelos (simply Komennos Palaiologos in the inscription) and Irene Branaina Komnene Laskarina Kantakouzene Palaiologina (Irene Komnene Branaina Palaiologina in the inscription). Are we to suppose that this practice of last name attribution existed already in their lifetime or was it anachronistically applied to them long after they were dead? In view of what has been said earlier the answer could well be the latter, but several other inconsistencies make us wonder as to the precise function of the fourteenth-century system of family names. Theodore Synadenos, for example, the famous *protostrator*, appears in the inscription of his miniature portrait as Theodore Komnenos Doukas Synadenos. In the text of the *typikon* he is simply named Theodore Doukas. In his official signature he signed as Theodore Doukas Palaiologos Synadenos while two surviving seals bear the monogram of his last name, Synadenos. Imperial documents referred to him as Theodore Palaiologos Synadenos, while Kantakouzenos and Gregoras in their histories refer to him simply by the name Theodore Synadenos[54]. To complicate things, in the same Hilandar document that preserves the full signature of Theodore Synadenos, his brother signs in an abbreviated manner as John Palaiologos, the same short appelation that is used by his

[52]Delehaye, *Deux typica*, 92: Maria Komnene Branaina Laskarina Doukaina Tornikina Palaiologina; the difference between men and women is probably due to the fact that the latter also use some of their husbands' names

[53]Ibid., 13, 81, 82

[54]Ibid., 82, 13; Chil.**123**, 256; **124**, 259; W.Seibt, "Das Monogramm-Siegel eines Theodoros Dukas Synadenos aus den frühen Palaiologenzeit", *JÖB* 40 (1990), 271-273;

mother in the *typikon* of Bebaia Elpis[55]; Kantakouzenos also calls him John Palaiologos, it is therefore possible that he was mostly known by that appelation.

It appears from all the above that in the fully developed Palaiologan system of family names there was no strict prescribed rule for the formation of an "official" or "complete" appelation. There was a stock of family names from which an individual could draw several, according to the occasion. Of course there was some regularity: in everyday life people would be generally using one definite family name and their signature should include it. This one name could often be the surname of the father, but there are many instances where it is the surname of the maternal grandfather: in the above cited example these two categories are represented by Theodore Synadenos and his brother, John Palaiologos. In a similar way the second son of the *protovestiarios* Michael Tarchaneiotes was known as Alexios Philanthropenos[56]. From Pachymeres' reference to this one, as well as from Akropolites' comment on the naming of Theodore II, it might appear that the son who bore his maternal grandfather's first name might also be expected to bear his family name as a mark of honor[57]. To evoke a much later famous case, this practice could explain why the last emperor of Byzantium was the only one of his brothers to bear the last name Dragases, since he bore his maternal grandfather's first name as well (Constantine). But there were also variations on this practice: the above mentioned John was called Palaiologos after his mother although he bore the same first name as his father, John Synadenos. Sometimes other last names from the mother's side (apart from that of the grandfather) could appear as the main surname: while two of the sons of Theodore Metochites, Alexios and Nikephoros were known by their father's surname, another was Michael Laskaris and another Demetrios Angelos, names that were never borne by Theodore and presumably came from their mother. It is possible, as indicated by the Laskaris and Philanthropenos cases, that the "preferred" appelation was not

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[55]Chil.123, 258; Delehaye, *Deux typica*, 82
[56]PLP 29752
[57]Akrop.I, 48:"...ᾧ καὶ κλῆσις τοῦ πάππου καὶ βασιλέως Θεοδώρου τοῦ Λασκάριος ἐπετέθειτο"; Pach.II, 210:"ὁ τοῦ πρωτοβεστιαρίου τοῦ Ταρχανειώτου δεύτερος παῖς, ὁ Φιλανθρωπηνὸς ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς μητρὸς πάππου Ἀλέξιος"

chosen by the adult individual but was given at a young age, perhaps even at the same time as the Christian name, and people grew up with it.

Apart from the family name in everyday use, a second surname could be added in order to give a more official tone to an appelation. People sometimes signed with only one surname, but could add one or two other family names to their signature. In some instances this distinguished witnesses from the principal signatories of a document, but there were exceptions[58]. It is uncertain whether there was such a thing as an official signature: for example there are two signatures attributed to Syrgiannes, both in documents issued by him. In 1321 he signs as "John Palaiologos, *pinkernes*" and in 1330 as "Syrgiannes Philanthropenos"[59]. It is possible that when an appelation in a document included two or more family names, the paternal family name would always be one of them. The evidence does not exclude this point but is not sufficient to positively confirm it either. When the occasion required some showing-off, for example in the case of inscriptions or poetry, then an aristocrat could add other illustrious names from his ancestry from both parents (the longest combination that I know of is John Doukas Angelos Palaiologos Rhaoul Laskaris Tornitzes (sic) Philanthropenos Asan, from a fifteenth-century icon[60]). I have not identified any cases in which aristocrats employed names that they were not "entitled" to, that is, names that had not been borne by their ancestors. And, whenever there is evidence against which

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[58]In Chil.**123**, 256, 258, the main signatory, Theodore Synadenos signs with three names, while all the witnesses, including his brother, use only one. The same pattern appears in Chil.**84**, 178, 181 (only one witness is an aristocrat); for an exception, see Theocharides, *Diatheke*, 27, where a witness signs as "Constantine Palaiologos Tornikes"

[59]I am very cautiously following the identification accepted by the PLP (27167). The first person (Zogr.**XX**, 47) would be the known Syrgiannes only if the date 1321 given by the editors is correct; yet, the document bears neither date nor indiction. The second signature (Chil.**120**, 253) is even more problematic: first, the form in which the editors trasmit the signature is as follows: "+ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως Συργιάννη +ὁ Φ ι λ α ν θ ρ ω π η ν ό ς+"
"Syrgianne", in the genitive, must certainly be an error. Even if we assumed that an official declared in this way his allegience to Syrgiannes, this could only have happened during the rebellion of 1333-34, a date excluded by the indiction in the document (14th).
The correct form must be "Syrgiannes" as the first name of Philanthropenos. We observe the lack of reference both to his relationship to the emperor and to the office held by the known Syrgiannes at the time (Grand Duke), yet both elements usually appear in signatures. Furthermore, if Syrgiannes' mother is Eugenia Palaiologina, as it appears from the narrative of Kantakouzenos and Gregoras, then I don't see how he can bear the name Philanthropenos, that neither his mother, nor -naturally- his Cuman father had. On that point see L.A.van Dieten's comments in *Nikephoros Gregoras: Rhomäische Geschichte* II,1, 118-119

[60]Schmalzbauer, "Tornikioi", 133-134

this can be checked, such as the *typikon* of Bebaia Elpis, it appears that people do not go further back than their grandparents to seek names. An exception should be made for Doukas and Komnenos, which, as it has been said, were already common as part of composite names in the thirteenth century.

The practices for the naming of women were similar to those for men, but with the added dimension of the husband's family name. Whenever a married woman or a widow bore a single-name everyday appelation, this was her husband's surname, presumably the surname that the husband preferred to use himself[61]. When the occasion called for more than one name, the husband's name was usually included in them, but the parental last names were not always included: Agape Angelina Sphrantzaina Palaiologina, for example, did not bear the parental name of Spartenos, unlike her brother. On the other hand, I have not been able to find any clear case of a man assuming a family name via his wife, although some scholars have assumed that this was possible and based genalogical hypotheses on this principle[62]. Perhaps the ease with which women transmitted their surnames to the children gave birth to the belief that they could transmit them to their husbands as well.

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[61]The patriarchal register provides some examples where a woman's husband is known and the supposition can be confirmed: Sideriotissa, wife of Sideriotes and Antiocheitissa, wife of Antiocheites (Patr.Reg.II **151**, 402), Syropoulina, wife of Syropoulos (Patr.Reg I **72**, 428), even Megale Komnene for the empress of Trebizond, daughter of Andronikos III (Patr.Reg.II **129**, 194); I believe that the Kalomiseidina in Patr.Reg II **150**, 396 in the phrase "ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀνδραδέλφης τῆς Καλομισειδήνης" is the dead wife of Kalomiseidos and not his sister, her *andradelphe*, in spite of the commas added in the translation ("derselben Schwägerin, der Kalomiseidene,"); therefore we have no exception in the pattern of wive's names in the register. In other cases, the practices may differ and women may be known by a different name than their husbands: see MM IV, 114 (Chrysoberges-Angelina in 1285) or 177 (Garares-Kaloeidina in 1280). I believe that the difference has to do with social status rather than chronology or the nature of the source. It may be relevant that in the latter cases the wife's name is more distinguished than that of the husband.
[62]For example Hannick/Schmalzbauer, "Die Synadenoi", 151: No.63 (George Synadenos Astras, allegedly the husband of Theodora Synadene Rhaoulaina); the justification for this hypothesis is a completely impossible interpretation of George's title "sympentheros" of John V, according to this plan

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              ____________           ____________
             /            \         /            \
John VI Ka+Irene A      Manuel A+Anna Sy      Theodora Sy Rh+(?)George Sy Astras
         |                                                     /
      Helen+John V  Pa--------------- sympentheros --------------/
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Also see Schmalzbauer, "Tornikioi", 129, Nos. 15 and 16 (Demetrios Tornikes and Anna Tornikina, husband and wife, where supposedly the name Tornikes was inherited by Anna's 'father' and transmitted to her husband. The alternative to be preferred is that suggested by the author herself: Anna was the daughter of Andronikos Kantakouzenos and had the name Tornikes from her husband).

The implications of the Palaiologan system of surnames for the structure of families in that period are very important. This system demonstrates that extended families characterized by a common name, such as "the Asanai", "the Synadenoi" etc., was no longer manifested after the end of the thirteenth century. We see on the contrary a strengthening of a notion of individual lineage that draws from both the paternal and maternal sides. It is indicative that very often fathers and children or siblings preferred to use different last names: Phokas Maroules, for example, would be the father of John Synadenos; a certain Monomachos had two sons, John Triakontaphyllos and Makrydoukas; of the two sons of Theodore Padyates only one, George, used his father's surname while the other was called John Laskaris. This split in appelation would probably be widened and complicated by their descendants.

It is not possible to assert that this pattern of family names was first introduced among the high aristocracy and within the imperial "clan". Maybe Michael VIII's innovation upon his accession served as a model but, as we saw, there is no evidence from his reign indicating that his relatives -even his own brothers- had begun imitating this practice. When we begin encountering clear manifestations of this system at the opening of the fourteenth century, it is already a common feature of the high and middle or low aristocracy; to the latter group belong the already mentioned Theodore Kontostephanos Kalameas and Manuel Angelos Patrikios. The great majority of middle and low aristocrats, however, are known to us by only one or two last names. We do not encounter the chains of names that characterize the high aristocracy. This may be attributed in part to the kind of sources that we are using: middle and low aristocrats are not usually glorified by poetry or inscriptions. But it also happens because middle and low aristocrats do not have among their ancestors the kind of family names that would permit them to show-off their pedigree, in the way high aristocrats do.

The question of family allegiance cannot be answered based on family name patterns alone. But what this system at least indicates is that bonds of kinship with relatives on the father's side were not necessarily considered stronger than bonds with relatives on the

mother's side, since a person was no more likely to bear the family name of the former than the latter. As far as naming could serve as an indication, an individual' s family standing was not determined by the agnatic *lignage*, but by all the illustrious ancestral blood lines that ended in that person. In other words the focus was not on the exteded family as a social grouping held together by a common allegiance, but on the individual, whose "families" would be, in some abstract conception, all the lines that had contributed to his or her creation.

This theory about the dissolution of high aristocratic patrilineal families into a larger group connected by close or distant bonds of kinship, but without any sense of unity, should be checked against certain practices that might possibly serve as indications for the existence or non-existence of unified families in the traditional, patrilineal sense of *lignage*, even if this was no longer apparent in the naming pattern. The first is the patronage of monasteries serving as sepulchral shrines and also as places of commemorative services for aristocrats who were usually related between them by family bonds. The second is the problem of heraldic devices or other family emblems.

The problem of "family shrines"

As it has been mentioned in the previous chapter, it was common among the Byzantine aristocrats of this period to found monasteries (usually restoring pre-existing monastic complexes) and to endow them both with the resources necessary for their material sustenance and with charters (*typika)* providing for the details of monastic life, administrative issues, etc.. Usually the founders of such an institution expected to be buried in it and to be commemorated during services held by the monks. But, as far as we can tell, such privileges were not restricted to the founders but also extended to other persons, usually the founder's relatives or descendants. Therefore these monasteries have occasionally been described as "family shrines", places where the members of a particular family could expect to be buried, or at least regularly commemorated, over generations. This could well be true, at least for the

hereditary *ktetores*, those who inherited the title and prerogatives of "founder". As we saw in chapter III the founder's right could be transmitted in the same way as a piece of property, but there is the possibility that when the monastery was independent and the "*ktetorikon dikaion*" did not include any administrative or economic prerogatives, most immediate descendants of the original founder could lay claim to it. Thus the Grand Logothete Theodore Mouzalon was buried in the monastery of Demetrios Tornikes in Nicaea "according to some sort of founder's right that he had through his wife"[63].

It would be interesting to examine the few known cases where large groups of relatives were buried together in such monasteries and examine the results that can be drawn regarding the patterns of family unity[64]. Unfortunately the evidence is rather insecure. No actual burials have been excavated in any of the cases that will be discussed. We have to rely on the funerary portraits that survive and on literary sources. The problem is that not all of the persons depicted or mentioned were necessarily buried in a particular place. It should not be forgotten that these tombs were in monasteries inhabited, as was the norm in this period, by only one of the two sexes. Since it was common for Byzantine aristocrats, both men and women, to assume the monastic habit in their old age, it often happened that husbands and wives ended their days in different foundations and were buried separately, although they would very often be depicted together[65]. Mentions in literary sources are more accurate but even there we may have to rely on conjectures. The persons buried, the persons depicted and the persons commemorated are not identical groups but all three are indicative. The cases that we know more about concern three major Constantinopolitan monasteries: the monastery of

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[63]Pachymeres II, 193

[64]K.Schmid used in his research (see above, n.7) a source of a similar kind, the *libri memoriales* in which aristocratic families wrote down their names as well as those of the ancestors that were to be commemorated during services. The only Byzantine source that presents a paralel is the *typikon* of Bebaia Elpis, but even that is more limited, since it records only people who would have a memorial service once a year and not those who would simply be commemorated during services.

[65]This appears to have been the case, for example, with Michael Tarchaneiotes Glabas and his wife Maria, the founders of Pammakaristos. See H.Belting/C.Mango/D.Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul*, Washington 1978, p.18

Our Lady of Good Hope, the monastery of the Pammakaristos and the monastery of the Chora.

All our information about the nunnery of Our Lady of Good Hope (*Bebaia Elpis*) comes from the often-mentioned *typikon*, written by the foundress, Theodora Synadene, at some disputed time between 1327 and 1342. We can distinguish three categories in our information: those depicted in the miniatures of the luxurious copy of the *typicon* that is now in Oxford, those who are to be commemorated and those who were actually buried in the monastery. The people depicted in miniatures are the following[66]:

1. Constantine Palaiologos and Irene Branaina, parents of the foundress.
2. The foundress and her husband, John Synadenos
3. Theodore Synadenos, son of the foundress, and his wife, Eudocia
4. John Synadenos, her other son, and his (second) wife, Irene
5. Anna, daughter of Theodore, and her husband Manuel Asan
6. Euphrosyne, daughter (possibly) of Theodore, and her husband Constantine Rhaoul Palaiologos
7. Anna, daughter of John, and her husband Michael Philanthropenos
8. Irene, daughter of John, and her husband Michael Asan Palaiologos
9. Euphrosyne, the daughter of the foundress and subsequent *hegoumene* of the nunnery

In other words, the miniatures are restricted to the foundress, her parents, her children with their spouses and her grandchildren with their spouses. Lateral relatives either of Theodora or of her husband are absent.

The persons who are to be commemorated by the nuns in special memorial services are divided under two different headings[67]. First come the immediate relatives of the foundress: her father and mother, her husband, her two sons and her daughter who was also a nun. The last three were still alive. In a different category are various other relatives, all

[66]Delehaye, *Deux typica*, 12-14; for the correct order of the miniatures and other corrections see A.Cutler/P.Magdalino, "Some Precisions on the Lincoln College Typicon", *Cahiers Archéologiques* 27(1978), 179-198
[67]Delehaye, *Deux typica*, 80-82 (the close relatives) and 91-94 (those who had made gifts)

dead, but who had given donations to the nunnery for the purpose of being commemorated there. These are:

1. The first wife of the foundress' son, John, Thomais.

2. The daughter of her other son, Theodore. It is stated that although the dead girl did not give anything to the monastery she has a right to commemoration because of her father's many benefactions to the nunnery.

3. The brother of the foundress, Michael Palaiologos

4. Her other brother, Andronikos Palaiologos

5. Her sister, Maria

6. Maria's husband, Michael Tornikes

7. Their son, Andronikos Tornikes

8. The nephew of the foundress, John Palaiologos, son of another sister, the queen of Bulgaria

9. The *sympentheros* of the foundress and father-in-law of Theodore Synadenos, Theodore Mouzakios

We see here that the list of people who are automatically entitled to commemoration is even more restricted than that of the illustrations. It comprises only the foundress' s closest relatives, without their spouses or children. The second list, however, is rather broad. It appears that any relative within a reasonable degree had the opportunity to make a gift to a foundation and be commemorated there.

The *typikon* does not give us any clues about the persons who would actually be buried in the nunnery. Certainly Theodora and her daughter, who were nuns there, would expect burial in the nunnery, but Theodora's father and husband, who had died as monks long before the foundation of Bebaia Elpis, apparently had been buried elsewhere. A series of poems by Manuel Philes describes the tomb of Constantine Palaiologos without specifying where it was located[68]. Constantine was probably buried together with his wife, Irene

[68]Philes II, 162-164

Branaina[69]. Their son, Michael, was added to the funeral painting after his death, but was not buried together with his parents. Instead, he shared a tomb (if the poems are to be taken literally) with his brother-in-law, John Synadenos, the husband of the foundress of Bebaia Elpis[70]. Both were depicted together in another sepulchral painting. This tomb was probably located close to that of Constantine and Irene, since the poet invites Constantine to look at his buried relatives. Philes implies that the practice of adding a body to an existing tomb was unusual; it might indicate that during the arrangement of Constantine Palaiologos' sepulchral church it was not anticipated that his son-in-law would also be buried there. This became necessary when John Synadenos died while still young[71], before arranging for his own sepulchral shrine.

In any case, the Lincoln College Typikon would not support the idea that Bebaia Elpis was the shrine of an extended family. It was not the shrine of the "Synadenoi", since its spiritual affiliations extended back to include the foundress' parents, Constantine Palaiologos and his wife, whereas the ancestors of John Synadenos were completely ignored. It was not the shrine of the "Palaiologoi" either, since there is no close connection with any other descendants of Constantine Palaiologos, who was not buried there anyway. Theodora's siblings are commemorated only as benefactors and there is no sign that this relation would extend to their descendants. In a way it is not even the funerary shrine of the nuclear family of John Synadenos, although its surviving members are involved in its foundation and endowment. The nunnery of Bebaia Elpis was essentialy the personal monastery of Theodora Synadene who associated with it her most close and dear relatives, dead or alive. Her behaviour does not reveal any particular feeling of allegiance or belonging to a specific "house".

If our information about Bebaia Elpis is restricted to the *typikon*, what we know about the affiliations of the monastery of the Saviour "of the Chora" comes mostly from the tombs

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69Ibid., 163:"καὶ νῦν σὺν αὐτῇ δυστυχῶς τῇ συζύγῳ – θάλαμον οἰκεῖ φθαρτικῆς παροικίας"
70Ibid., 163:"ταφὴν ἔχει μίαν – τῷ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τῆς καλῆς ὁμευνέτῃ"; 164:"σκηνῆς πνιγηρᾶς τοῖς δυοῖν πεπηγμένης"; "ὁ πικρὸς τῆς φθορᾶς οὗτος λίθος – μετὰ τὸ θανεῖν προσφυῶς τούτους φέρει"
71Delehaye, *Deux typica*, 24

and portraits that have been preserved in the monument itself. The founder of the monastery was the famous *mesazon* of Andronikos II, Theodore Metochites. Metochites died in Chora and was buried there, but there is no information about any of his chidren[72]. Except for Metochites, the nun Melania (a natural daughter of Michael VIII, known as the "lady of the Mongols") and the twelfth-century *ktetor* Isaac Komnenos, all the other persons depicted in the monastery are connected with the sepulchral monuments there. The persons that can be somewhat identified are the following:

1. The *megas konostaulos* Michael Tornikes and his wife (Eugenia as a nun). Of the two, probably only Tornikes was buried there[73].

2. A person bearing the last names Asan, Palaiologos and Rhaoul. P.Underwood identifies her to Irene Rhaoulaina Palaiologina, the wife of the porphyrogennnetos Constantine, son of Michael VIII, but this is to be rejected: one cannot see why she would bear the name of Asan, which was not hers either by birth or by marriage. I would even doubt the identification of the depicted person as a woman: a comparison of the preserved portion of the dress to the lower part of the dress of the unknown man in "tomb C" shows to my untrained eye that this could be a man, since the two are almost identical. The person is depicted with at least two children. At the sides (inside the curved part of the *arcosolium*) are the portraits of a monk and a nun ("Athanasia") who, according to the fragments of the inscription, had some relation to the *ktetor*. It is very unlikely that Athanasia, if indeed she died as a nun, would be the occupant of a tomb in a male monastery[74]. I would think it likely that the buried person was a man named Rhaoul Asan Palaiologos, perhaps related to Metochites through his wife. That wife would be Athanasia depicted as a nun alongside her husband, but not buried there[75].

72Greg.I, 459, 474. The exact information is that Metochites became a monk and died while living in his monastery, so it can be reasonably accepted that he was buried there. The exact location of his tomb is uncertain (P.Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* I, New York 1966, 271)

73P.Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* I, 276-280; III, 537-539

74Women could be buried in male monasteries, as the example of Irene Rhaoulaina shows, but one would expect a nun to be buried in the nunnery to which she belonged.

75Ibid.I, 280-288; III, 540-542

3. A man with Palaiologos as his last name, his wife with the last names Asan, Palaiologos and (possibly) Dermokaïtes and their child[76].

4. A man named Demetrios, tentatively identified by P.Underwood to the Despot, son of Andronikos II[77].

To the above should be added Irene Rhaoulaina Palaiologina who, although not identical with the occupant of tomb E, was buried in the monastery according to the testimony of a post-1453 visitor cited by Underwood. The same text is rather ambiguous on whether Irene's husband, the porphyrogennetos Constantine, was also buried there.

It is obvious that, whatever the uncertainties, the monastery of Chora did not function as a "Metochites family" shrine. Among those buried along with Metochites, Michael Tornikes did not have an obvious relationship with Metochites. He was a contemporary and probably a friend, according to the evidence cited by Underwood[78]and conceivably he could have been a *sympentheros* of the founder of the Chora. The rich decoration of the tomb rules out the possibility that Tornikes' burial in the Chora was a necessity imposed by lack of a better alternative after his fall alongside Andronikos II and Metochites in 1328. Tornikes appears to have deliberately chosen his place of rest, not in a "family shrine" of the Tornikai but in a famous Constantinopolitan monastery that was being founded by a friend. Perhaps the right of burial could be secured by rich gifts, just like the right of commemoration. Again, Theodore Metochites' *sympenthera*, Irene Palaiologina, was buried in the monastery of a relative and not in one dedicated exclusively to her paternal family or that of her husband. The remaining cases are too uncertain to shed much light. We do not know how many more people were buried in the monastery, or even if the tombs were reused. Interestingly, among the components of the names that have been preserved the name Metochites is absent, unlike what one would expect in a family shrine.

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[76]Ibid.I, 288-292; III, 546-547
[77]Ibid.I, 295-299; III, 550-552
[78]Ibid.I, 277-288

The monastery that bears the most resemblence to such a type of shrine is that of the Pammakaristos whose main church survives as the Fethiye Camii[79]. The founder was the famous *protostrator* Michael Doukas Tarchaneiotes Glabas while the remodelling of the funeral chapel in the church was continued after his death by his widow, Maria-Martha. Glabas was certainly buried in the monastery although his tomb does not survive, nor does any other tomb for that matter. Most of our information on the other persons buried there comes from a description by a sixteenth-century visitor of the Pammakaristos, that was then the see of the Patriarchate[80]. Apart from tombs of the Comnenian or of the post-Byzantine era, the description mentions the founder's tomb with a depiction of Michael Glabas and his wife and a separate group of portraits, which C. Mango interprets as standing in a large *arcosolium* over another tomb. The two cetral persons, the occupants of the tomb according to Mango, were Nicholas Komnenos Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes, *megas papias*, and his wife Theodora Doukaina Branaina Glabaina. Both were also represented a second time, in monastic habit as Neilos and Theodosia. The other persons were Maria Doukaina Branaina Palaiologina Tarchaneiotissa who, according to the inscription, became the nun Martha, but is only depicted once, Constantine Komnenos Doukas Tarchaneiotes, also depicted as the monk Cyril, and Eudokia Doukaina. Both Constantine and Maria were identified by the inscription as children of the central couple, while Eudocia was a granddaughter. Yet, C. Mango observed that Maria's name is identical to that of Michael Glabas' wife, therefore the inscription was probably misread. In any case, it is certain that Nicholas-Neilos was closely related to Michael Glabas, perhaps his son, especially since the inscription calls him a *ktetor*.

It is not certain whether there were tombs in the church not mentioned by the sixteenth-century description. If so, one would very likely be that of Theodote Glabaina Doukaina Tarchaneiotissa, known by a poem of Philes[81]. According to this poem, Theodote

[79]Most of the information comes from C.Mango in Belting/Mango/Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St.Mary Pammakaristos*, 3-42
[80]Published by P.Schreiner, "Eine unbekannte Beschreibung der Pammakaristoskirche (Fethiye Camii), und weitere Texte zur Topographie Konstantinopels" *DOP* 25(1971), 219-241
[81]Philes/Martini, 74-75

was buried together with her father and her brother; her combination of names indicates that Michael Glabas, a contemporary, was probably one or the other, most likely her father. Theodote was the wife of a certain Doukas Chandrenos, perhaps that Chandrenos who, like Glabas, was a successful commander in Europe in the beggining of the fourteenth century (PLP 30572).

C. Mango sees the monuments described as evidence of "the aggressively aristocratic tone that a family monastery of the Palaeologan period must have conveyed"[82]. Yet, this monastery was little more than a personal funeral shrine for Michael Glabas. His tomb was the only one inside the funeral chapel and the inscriptions of the restored church written by Philes centered on his person. Leaving aside the tombs of the Comnenian era, whose occupants may or may not have been ancestors of Glabas (they included one Tarchaneiotes), the only other persons whose burial there is known to us are Glabas' son, Nicholas, and perhaps his daughter. Glabas' grandchildren were depicted there but their burial site is unknown. The only other person who we know was buried there during the Byzantine period is a Trebizondine empress who bore the name Palaiologina[83]. It is unknown whether she had any relation to Glabas. In post-byzantine times the use of the church as a burial site became conditioned by its role as the main patriarchal church and will not concern us here.

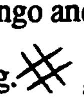
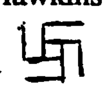
Overall, the pattern that emerges from group burials and commemoration patterns in aristocratic shrines conforms with the conclusions presented by the naming patterns. There is no feeling of family allegiance other than that towards the closest relatives, essentially spouses, parents and children. These immediate relatives were apparently the only ones who automatically had rights in a person's funerary foundation, which was essentialy a personal and not a family shrine. Around this nuclear family a web of blood or marriage relationships is formed. The strength of these more distant ties is not predetermined, but can depend on other factors such as personal friendship. This larger circle is represented by those persons

[82]Belting/Mango/Mouriki, *op.cit.*, 22
[83]Ibid., 33. According to Mango she was probably Theodora of Trebizond (died ca. 1390-1400)

who gained their right of burial or commemoration in a relative's shrine, arguably through the gifts that they made to that shrine.

Heraldic symbolism

There are no recent studies on Byzantine heraldry or even complete surveys of Byzantine symbolic devices that might have been used as such. An older study had reached the conclusion that the Byzantines of the late period did not have heraldic family emblems[84]. The only two emblems that are common in late Byzantium are the double-headed eagle and the cross with the letter B in its four compartments (standing probably for "basileus" or "basileus basileon")[85]. Both these emblems are closely associated with the emperor and with high-ranking aristocrats, such as the despots or sebastocrators. Without a complete survey of the artistic and archaeological material one cannot draw definitive conclusions, but there is no evidence so far that these were family emblems as opposed to emblems of imperial authority. It would appear that family relationship played some role in determining their use, in the sense that close relatives of the emperor could employ the double eagle without being high officials themselves. But what we know does not allow us to say that all Palaiologoi could use this emblem, or even that it was transmitted among descendents like a Western heraldic symbol[86]. One possible exception to the rule could be the Western families who married into the imperial family. The Gattilusi of Lesbos and Phocaea, for example, used both imperial symbols as parts of their coat of arms, just as they would Western emblems.

More recent studies have challenged this view. C. Mango and E.J.W. Hawkins have noted the recurrence of certain very simple, linear devices (e.g. , , ) on sarcophagi, funeral shrouds, coins and architectural fragments. The fact that these were

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[84]See G.B. Tipaldos, "Εἶχον οἱ Βυζαντινοὶ οἰκόσημα;", *EEBS* 3 (1926), 206-222

[85]This device is also mentioned by Pseudo-Kodinos as the imperial standard ("τὸ σύνηθες βασιλικὸν φλάμουλον ἤτοι σταυρὸν μετὰ πυρεκβόλων"(Verpeaux, *Ps.Kodinos*, 167). On the misinterpretation of the "B" as "briquets", see Tipaldos, *op.cit.*

[86]In Western Europe there were no standardized rules concerning the transmission of heraldic arms to heirs, although practical necessity (such as recognition by others in the battlefield) imposed some regularization. At certain periods children other than the first-born would have to "break" or slightly alter their arms, but this was not an absolute norm. See M.Pastoureau, *Traité d' héraldique*, Paris 1979, 61-62, 177-178

often combined with monograms suggested to the authors that these were probably heraldic family emblems[87]. To me, the very simplicity of these devices suggests that they were purely ornamental.and their recurrence only implies that they were in fashion during that period[88]. But even if a particular meaning should be attached to them, it should not necessarily concern family symbolism; they could be apotropaïc, for example. On a different occasion, C.Mango observed the recurrence of a symbol such as the lion rampant, "with a clearly heraldic intention". The most obvious case is the recurrence of the lion rampant in the decoration of the Pammakaristos[89]. Admittedly, the prominence given to this emblem sets it apart from other ornamental motives. But there is no reason to believe that it was emblematic of a particular family. It could well be for example a pesonal emblem of Michael Glabas. In general, I would be very reluctant to interpret the presence of such animals as lions or eagles in a decoration as emblematic in a heraldic way, even if they occupy the same emphasized position as a coat of arms. The Byzantines of the period were familiar with the use of heraldic emblems by Westerners. It is possible that they began using similar devices in exactly the same outward way, but only for decorative purposes, without the symbolic content of the Western emblems. A parallel would be the adoption by the Byzantines of the middle period of (Pseudo-)Kufic inscriptions as a decorative element in architecture.

If it does not appear that heraldic symbols were used as identifying emblems of families, there is considerable evidence, on the other hand, for the frequent use of monograms of family names. This phenomenon is all the more interesting since it appears after a long period of decline in the use of monograms, a decline that broadly coincided with the generalization of the use of family names in Byzantium[90]. It is interesting that the monograms

[87]C.Mango/E.J.W.Hawkins, "Additional Finds at Fenari Isa Camii", *DOP* 22(1968), 181

[88]I have not been able to find a Western parallel to these devices, either as a form or as a concept, in Pastoureau, *op.cit.*, but the period before the twelfth century is not treated in much detail.

[89]Belting, Mango, Mouriki, *op.cit.*, 21-22 and plates V, 5-7, 94,95

[90]I am mainly relying on the sigillographic evidence. According to N. Oikonomides (*A Collection of Dated Byzantine Lead Seals*, Washington, 1986, 153-154) monograms are common between the sixth and the eighth centuries. In the same work, the last dated monogram of a name appears on a tenth-century seal (No.64, p. 69). Monograms of names -family names this time- reappear on seals of the Palaiologan period, for example that of Theodore Synadenos : W.Seibt, "Das Monogramm-Siegel eines Theodoros Dukas Synadenos aus den frühen Palaiologenzeit", *JÖB*, 40(1990), 272

of the names of great families were apparently standardized, with few variants. For example, the monogram for Asan is the same in the portrait standing over tomb E of the Kariye Camii and in the funeral shroud of the fifteenth-century Romanian princess Maria Mangop, while it appears on tomb F of the Kariye Camii with only a slight variation (the "C"-shaped *sigma* becomes "σ")[91]. The monogram for Palaiologos is the same in both tombs E and F of Kariye Camii, on the shroud of Maria Mangop and in the sixteenth-century description of the Byzantine tombs of the Pammakaristos[92]. The only occurence of a completely different version is in the codices transmitting the history of George Pachymeres, at the end of the first part, when the author mentions the ill omens suggested by the monogram of Michael Palaiologos[93]. The drawing of a "gallows"-shaped device dominated by three "Π" corresponds to the author's description and cannot be dismissed as a fantastic elaboration of the copyists. It should be noted that Pachymeres is strictly speaking of a personal, not family, emblem and does not even use the word "monogram" (he calls it "τὸ ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ σύμβολον"). It is therefore likely that the standardized version of the Palaiologos monogram and perhaps those of other family names as well appeared after the reign of Michael VIII. It appears that the standardization of monograms and the spread of their use broadly coincided with the changes in the patterns of family names. The particular way in which monograms were occasionally used confirms the connection.

To one person could correspond more than one monograms, just as that person could use more than one family names. One such example is the funeral marble slab whose fragments were found in the Fenari Isa Camii (the monastery of Lips) and which may have been that of the empress Theodora, foundress of the monastery[94]. One of the fragments preserves the monogram ΚΟΜΝ(η)Ν(η), another what is probably ΑΓΓ(ε)ΛΗΝΑ and two letters survive of a third, perhaps (δου)ΚΕ(να). The fifteenth-century shroud of Maria

[91]For Maria Mangop see G.Millet, *Broderies religieuses de style byzantin*, Paris 1947, pl.CLXII. For Chora see Underwood, *Kariye Djami* III, 541, 546, 547
[92]Schreiner, "Eine unbekannte Beschreibung der Pammakaristoskirche", 224
[93]Pach.I.ii, 667
[94]Mango/Hawkins, "Additional Finds at Fenari Isa Camii", 181

Mangop has embroidered in its corners the monograms of Palaiologos and Asan. But the most characteristic use of more than one monogram was on the very clothes that aristocrats were wearing, as ornamental devices. Three such examples can be seen in the funeral frescoes of tombs E and F of the Kariye Camii[95]. The dress of the person in tomb E is decorated with roundels where the monograms for Asan and Palaiologos alternate in three vertical rows, while in the fourth vertical row Palaiologos alternates with Rhaoul. In tomb E the man's dress is exclusively decorated with the Palaiologos monogram, while that of the woman has Palaiologos, Asan, and what may be Δ(ε)ΡΜ(ο)Κ(α)ΙΤΗ(ς).

It is clear that aristocrats were not grouped under a "family monogram", but they freely chose from the monograms of the last names that they were entitled to bear and adorned themselves with them in both a metaphoric and a literal sense. The use of monogrammatic devices is one more indication for the diminished importance of belonging to a particular patrilineal family and, conversely, the increased importance of one's personal pedigree.

II. The problem of a class conscience among the high aristocracy

Under the first Palaiologoi, the group that has been defined as the higher aristocracy stands out rather clearly among the broader aristocratic group. Some of the aspects that single out the high aristocrats have already been mentioned: kinship to the emperor, family names drawn from a particular stock of illustrious families, preference for high-ranking military offices and provincial governorships, indifference for fiscal or administrative positions as well as for titles such as *sebastos*. It remains an open question, however, whether the distinction of this group remained coincidental or whether it was accompanied and reinforced by a conscience of belonging to an *élite* and a desire to preserve and deepen the high aristocrats' differentiation from the rest. We encounter several elements among the high

[95]See notes 75-76 above

aristocracy that indicate the formation of a collective conscience of belonging to a distinct group, as well as certain types of behavior that express this conscience. On the other hand the particularities of the late Byzantine system, especially the factors regulating the economic basis of the aristocracy and the lack of family cohesion and allegiance extending beyond closest relatives, encouraged the opening up of the ranks of the high aristocracy to select outsiders and prevented it from evolving into an institutionally differentiated caste.

The notion of "nobility"

Eugeneia as a presonal attribute is occasionally encountered in the sources, most commonly through the epithet *eugenes* or the superlative *(pan)eugenestatos*. The first epithet is usually encountered in a descriptive conctext, whereas the second is used more as a stylized, honorific addition. In spite of its form, which would approach it to epithets such as *paneutychestatos* (usually reserved for Despots and Sebastokratores), *pansebastos* (the epithet usually accompanying the title *sebastos*) or *megalodoxotatos* (an epithet that ended up having the sense of a title), *(pan)eugenestatos* did not have, at least in the period under study, an official quality. It is almost entirely absent from imperial documents and is rarely encountered in documents of officials as well. Although *eugeneia* was irregularly attributed and with an ease varying according to the nature of the source or the preferences of the author, an examination of the people who were individually marked by *eugeneia* in some way or another can be telling. In table VI we observe that in spite of all the arbitrariness of the sources the *eugeneis* tend to come from the high aristocracy, something that becomes more obvious if very early and very late cases are set aside. The family names are standardly drawn from the stock of the high aristocracy, with very few exceptions. Even more interesting is the particular connection of "nobility" with some family names. This is less marked in cases like the Branades, where our information comes mostly from the same source, but is strikingly manifest in the case of the Rhaoul, who are characterized as "noble" by several sources of a different time and character. "Nobility" was apparently a quality that was possessed in

different degrees, depending upon a person's individual lineage. In her *typikon*, Theodora Synadene calls her father's *genos*, the Palaiologoi, *paneugenestaton*, while immediately afterwards she calls her mother only *eugenestate*[96]. She proceeds to expose the distinction of her husband's family, the Synadenoi, but makes no reference to nobility. Rather unexpectedly, the only other person in the *typikon* to whom nobility is attributed -also by the epithet *eugenestatos*- is Theodore Doukas Mouzakios, whose name is rather obscure, although attested as far back as the eleventh century[97]. Gregoras introduced Sphrantzes, the assassin of Syrgiannes, as "one of the *synkletikoi*". Kantakouzenos repeats this at the corresponding point in his narrative, but for some reason has to specify that Sphrantzes was "not among those most distinguished for nobility"[98]. In a passage characteristic of the way nobility was conceived, Pachymeres states that the daughter of the *pinkernes* Libadarios would be a suitable match for Theodore, brother of Andronikos II, because "she was ennobled through her grandfather, the *protovestiarios*". The noble ancestor could have been Michael Tarchaneiotes or perhaps John Rhaoul (which would add one more link to the strange connection of the Rhaoul and *eugeneia*). But the important thing is that the nobility of her father, a high court official, friend to the emperor and descendant of a not undistinguished family (the Libadarioi were among Pachymeres' "golden chain" in 1258), was not on a par with that of the emperor's brother. On the other hand, *eugeneia* was never a prerequisite for distinction or acceptance among the upper class. The care that Andronikos II took in 1293 in order not to offend his brother by an unsuitable match was not demonstrated as far as his own sons were concerned. The despots Constantine and John were married to daughters of important ministers, Theodore Mouzalon and Nikephoros Choumnos, none of whom would probably boast of a "noble" lineage.

It is not possible to identify more precisely the factors that affected an aristocrat's relative nobility. A. Kazhdan, after tracing the appearance and oscillations of the notion of

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[96]Delehaye, *Deux typica*, 23, 94
[97]Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 99
[98]Kantak.I, 451:"οὐ πάνυ τῶν ἐπ᾽ εὐγενείᾳ λαμπρυνομένων". Cf. Greg.I, 497

"nobility" in the authors of the eleventh-twelfth centuries, isolated various families of the period that were described as "noble" and concluded that the criteria for their classification as such were uncertain and vague[99]. In our period we cannot talk of noble families any more but rather of noble individual lineages; but the criteria of the sources are even less easily discernible than for the previous period. Under the Komnenoi the issue of nobility had been by-passed by making the degree of relationship to the emperor the absolute criterion as far as official status was concerned[100]. In the late period, on the other hand, relationship to the ruling family does not appear to be strongly connected to the notion of *eugeneia* (less than a third of the people in table VI can be certainly said to be closely related to the reigning emperor). Descent from the high aristocracy of the Komnenian times, the Komnenoi and the families related to them, could possibly be one factor. One observes that in the early thirteenth century the *eugeneis* are mostly bearers of the names Angelos or Komnenos. Epiros, as represented by Eudokia Andriane, Theodora Mavrodoukaina ot the Netzades is, as usual, a case apart. Noble blood was probably transmitted by the mothers as well as the fathers, if we judge from a case such as Komnenos Philes. The patrilineal name of Philes is completely obscure during the twelfth century but, as the presence of "Komnenos" implies, noble blood had flown in from the mother or another not-so-distant female ancestor. Perhaps patterns of important offices held by ancestors also played a role. Due to the very unequal standards of our sources though, these propositions cannot be put to the test. Nor should one place too much importance on attempts, notably by Gregoras and Kantakouzenos, to connect nobility of blood to moral superiority or, inversely, the lack of nobility to moral deficiency. Their bias is more obvious when describing individuals such as Alexios Apokaukos or John Batatzes, the *protokynegos*. Gregoras, for example, introduces both with a comment on their low origins: "γένους τῶν ἀδόξων ὑπάρχων"(Apokaukos) or "καὶ αὐτὸς ἀσήμου γένους

[99]Kazhdan, *Social'nyj sostav*, 61-64.
[100]Ibid., 58-61

ὑπάρχων"(Batatzes)[101]. Kantakouzenos describes his major opponent as "ἄσημον ὄντα καὶ ἐξ ἀσήμων"[102]. It is noticeable that in all of the above cases the reference to the low origins is immediately followed by a reference to their subjects' tax-farming activities, another issue which was, as discussed in the previous chapter, rather class-connected. On the other hand it should be noted that this disdain for low origin is rather selective. Kantakouzenos himself turns the argument around for the sake of Manuel Tagaris, governor of Philadelpheia: Tagaris was worthy of praise because although his *genos* was "lowly and obscure", "he achieved great glory by himself, through his bravery and daring in battles"[103]. In this case low origins are still seen as a handicap, but one that can be overcome. Arsenios Tzamplakon, who, as seen in Chapter III, was also involved in tax-collecting activities, is presented under an exclusively favorable light by Kantakouzenos, as a quasi-saintly figure[104]. And we should not forget that some of the arch-villains of both Gregoras' and Kantakouzenos' narrative were certainly *eugeneis*, such as Syrgiannes who, on his mother's side, could lay claim to a nobility equaling perhaps that of his cousin, Kantakouzenos and which allowed him even to aspire to the throne.

Patterns of first names

It is not unlikely that the high aristocracy demonstrated a particular behavior as far as naming patterns were concerned. Not only would the high aristocrats tend to bear last names from a particular stock, but it also appears that certain first names were used with a frequency that was not on a par with the more general pattern prevalent throughout the empire. If we restrict the examination to the members of the extended imperial "clan" described above, that is, the descendants of Andronikos Palaiologos and Theodora Palaiologina, as well as the

[101]Greg.II, 577, 741; note the *kai autos* in the second case, an obvious attempt to connect Batatzes and Apokaukos, the two villains of the story.
[102]Kantak.I, 117
[103]Ibid., 91
[104]Kantak.I, 440-441;II, 256-57

spouses of those descendants, going as far as the generation more or less of John V, we get the following approximate numbers: among the men, there were 13 John, 11 Andronikos, 9 Michael, 6 Constantine, 4 Manuel, 3 Alexios, 3 Theodore, 3 Isaac, 2 Demetrios, and one each of Andrew, Bartholomew, Basil, Nikephoros and Mathew; among the women Irene was represented by 11 bearers, Theodora by 11 as well, Maria by 8, Anna by 7, Eudokia by 4, Helen and Euphrosyne by 2, while there was one Eugenia and one Simonis. This count does not include individuals who were very probably among the descendants of Michael VIII and his siblings, but cannot be certainly inserted into the gelealogical tree; the names of these latter however are in harmony with the above pattern. One observes that, although most of the men's names had been rather common in Byzantium, there is a discrepancy with other late Byzantine social strata in the frequence of occurence. For example, there is not one George among the high aristocrats, although that name was very common even among the ranks of the middle aristocracy, as one may see in the lists of office- and title holders (tables I and II). The same could be said with regard to Leo, Nicholas and Gregory. Basil, Andrew and Nikephoros are represented by early cases and belonged to men from other families married into the extended imperial family; they cannot therefore be considered staple names of the high aristocracy, although they too are common among the classes immediately below it. Inversely, Andronikos appears to be an aristocratic mane *par excellence*. It is rare outside the high aristocracy and practically non-existent among the peasantry[105]. In the case of women's names, it is not so much their peculiarity that is striking -most of them were very common in all strata- as the restricted range that aristocrats had at their disposal. An aristocratic woman would almost predictably be called Theodora, Irene, Maria or Anna, while the more "folkish" names encountered among the lower strata (such as Kale, Arete, Argyre etc[106]) and even the historical Zoë are almost unimaginable among the high aristocracy, as are all non-Christian names, either male or female.

[105]Laiou, *Peasant Society*, 109
[106]For those names of non-Christian origins see Laiou, *op.cit.*, 109-113

One should not hasten to draw conclusions from the onomastic peculiarities of the high aristocracy. It appears that the particular names of the aristocratic name stock were not initially selected in a conscious attempt at social differentiation -one would hardly choose a name like John for that purpose. The selection of first names for children among the high aristocracy probably followed the same basic patterns observed among other social groups at the time, including the peasantry. Children would be named after the grandparents and then after lateral relatives, like uncles and aunts[107]. In spite of occasional conjectures of modern prosopographical studies, children would never assume their parents' first name under normal circumstances. Of course I am not considering extraordinary cases, such as the assumption by Demetrios Angelos of Epeiros of his father's first name, Michael, which was clearly a dynastic statement[108]. The only indisputable case of a son being named after his father is that of the *megas konostaulos* John Palaiologos (Synadenos), whose father was the *megas stratopedarches* John Synadenos. Both are mentioned repeatedly in the *typikon* of Bebaia Elpis and their relationship cannot be doubted. But as the foundress and wife of the *megas stratopedarches*, Theodora, narrates in that text, her husband died when both her sons were infants[109]. Other evidence indicates that John was the younger of the two[110]. It is therefore conceivable that John was still not baptized at the time of his father's death and the assumption of the paternal name appears much more understandable.

Some names appear completely unrelated to preexisting family patterns and are in general uncommon as first names. In these cases we may suspect a hidden story similar to that behind the naming of Simonis, the daughter of Andronikos II. Simonis was named after

[107]Ibid., 113-118
[108]Pach.I ii, 559
[109]Delehaye, *Deux typica*, 24:"ἐπὶ μιᾷ θυγατρὶ (...) καὶ δυσὶ νηπίοις υἱοῖς"
[110]For some reason most studies, including apparently the PLP, assume that he was the first-born. That he was not, can be inferred from the following: a) His cursus honorum follows that of his brother at a lower-ranking level. A younger brother taking hierarchical precedence was not impossible, but certainly unusual; b) In the *typikon* he is always mentioned second, after Theodore (p. 82). The same precedence appears in the miniatures, in the corrected order proposed by Cutler/Magdalino, "Some Observations on the Lincoln College Typikon"; c) Theodora states that the *ephoros* of the monastery is her older son, to be succeeded by the younger after his death (p.30). This *ephoros* was clearly Theodore, who had donated extensive properties to the monastery and had had part of the buildings erected (pp. 83-85, 95), whereas no benefaction by John is mentioned in the *typikon*.

the apostle Simon, who had been designated by some sort of divination as the protector of the sickly baby[111]. Bartholomew, a son of the same emperor who died young, and Mathew Kantakouzenos, son and later co-emperor of John VI, were possibly named through such a procedure. But if the particular patterns of name-giving were not initially the result of conscious selection, it is not unlikely that, once in place, they became an element of distinction and identification and that a tradition was created concerning acceptable and non-acceptable names for aristocrats.

The military character of the high aristocracy

It is difficult to consider the life-style of high aristocrats as a factor enhancing their social distinction, since, in most aspects, a particular way of life could not be forbidden to any parvenu who had the aspirations and the means to imitate the high aristocracy. There is, however, at least one aspect that appears to be peculiar to the high aristocracy, namely the particular military vocation of that group. We already saw in Chapter I that members of the high aristocracy were exclusively oriented towards the high-ranking offices that had a military character or at least entailed military command. They also were the pool from which the *kephalai* were chosen, an office whose duties were primarily military. On the other hand we have noted the absence of high aristocrats from the lists of officials of the civil and fiscal administration, as well as from activities connected with the cadastral and fiscal system.

The male offspring of high aristocratic families would be expected to learn the art of command in war, probably by accompanying their fathers or other members of their families in their military campaigns. Michael Palaiologos, the future emperor, was at the side of his father, the *megas domestikos*, during John Batatzes' campaign of reconquest in Europe and was entrusted with the command of some of the ocupied cities as early as 1246, when he was 22 years old[112]. His brothers must probably have had some similar experience although they

[111]Pach.II, 277. According to the author this practice was "συνήθης πολλοῖς"
[112]Akrop.I, 84

were not raised to office until their brother's accession in 1259. They were immediately entrusted with important commands and proved successful, particularly John, something that shows that they were already experienced in minor commands. In a similar way Alexios Rhaoul, the *megas archon*, campaigned against the Turks accompanied by his brother and his son, John, who also took part in the fighting[113]. John Kantakouzenos and Syrgiannes were both taught the art of war by their common uncle, Angelos (perhaps the *megas stratopedarches* Angelos Senachereim)[114].

Valour in combat, as well as excellence in physical activity in general, permeate the laudatory poems composed by Manuel Philes for high aristocrats. As an example one might cite the two prayers presumably addressed by Syrgiannes to saints and which must have been originally comissioned by him as inscriptions on icons or talismans. Both are exclusively concerned with success in battle: "boasting of you as my protectors I fear no sword/ Even if I am abandoned behind fighting against foreigners/ You will be my first-rank supporters everywhere/ And even if my horse cannot run either because of exhaustion/ It will certainly be induced to run again";"This is the cross in whom I live and breath/ And lead the ordered formation against the enemies"[115]. Philes' long encomium of Kantakouzenos, set in the form of a dramatic dialogue, also emphasizes points such as skill in hunting, excellence in archery and the early age at which the young "hero" displayed his valour in combat[116]. This connection between hunting and fighting skills is also emphasized in the praise of a nephew of the emperor (perhaps Andronikos Palaiologos [Angelos], nephew of Andronikos II): "Which centaur Cheiron ran out of the thicket/ And trained thee to shoot accurately against hares and leopards/ And all sorts of doe, and made thee an excellent slayer of beasts?/ With which Herculean club did you slaughter the gorgons of the nations?"[117].

[113]Philes I, 440-441. From line 11 it is obvious that this is not the *megas stratopedarches* of p. 437. His first name is given by Michael Gabras (Gabras Ep., 374)
[114]Kantak.I, 334
[115]Philes I, 244-246 (LXXI and LXXIII). One of the poems is adressed to an icon of Sts. Abibus, Samonas and Gurias being blessed by Christ. The other concerns a reliquary of the true cross surrounded by saints, including an archangel (Michael?), St.John the Precursor, St. John the Theologian adn Sts. Peter and Paul.
[116]Philes I, 143-184, esp. 144-145
[117]Philes I, 104-105

In a more popular vein, one could cite the satire in verse known as "διήγησις παιδιόφραστος τῶν τετραπόδων ζώων", composed sometime in the fourteenth century[118]. The plot of the story is a gathering of the animals, carnivores and herbivores, that degenerates into a war. Although one should be cautious before reading an open allegory about social strife into the tale, it appears very obvious that the satire largely rests upon playing at a parallel between the carnivores who form the court of the lion and the high aristocracy that surrounds the human emperor. Their boasting emphasizes their valour but also the nobility of their stock (usually connected to that of the humans who use their products); in the words of the *pardos*[119] to the leopard this is combined with purity of lineage: "You are a product of fornication, a *kopeloanathremmenon*[120], as your name of 'leopard' reveals. I, on the other hand, have not only the name but the bravery as well; I am a powerful *pardos*, brave in every aspect and I cause all the four-legged beings to suffer"[121]. Warlike qualities were also underlined by funerary epigrams, such as that still standing over the tomb of Michael Tornikes in the Kariye Cami: "And upon enemies he breathed a strategic flame/ And was an irresistible thunderbolt upon their serried ranks./ He presided over the army like a father,/ Guarding the commonweal lest any advantage to it should be stolen"[122]. On the other hand it should be noted that in most of the above and in similar cases the physical prowess is but one of the attributes that are praised. The high aristocracy, in spite of its military vocation, did not disdain letters and culture; on the contrary, distinction in that sphere -and not only in the role of patron but also in that of the creator- was eagerly sought after, even if it might not be very

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[118]The events in the poem are set in 1364, but there is no agreement among scholars as to whether this is a statement about the date of composition, a point that to me appears rather obvious. See V. Tsiouni, *Παιδιόφραστος διήγησις τῶν ζώων τῶν τετραπόδων* (Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 15), Munich 1972, 30-31

[119]Probably the *guépard* or "cheetah" - but then what is the κατόπαρδος in v.888?

[120]Literally: "brought up by (a) maiden". Probably a word for an illegitimate child, brought up without a father. Prof. A.Laiou suggests to me the alternative translation: "You are an animal given to fornication, used to [running after] girls"; this is plausible, but I do not see why the composite name *leontopardos* would be indicative of lasciviousness, while I can see why it could indicate impurity of lineage.

[121]Tsiouni, *op.cit.*, 102-103: "Καὶ εἶσαι ζῷον πορνικόν, κοπελοαναθρεμμένον,
καθὼς δηλοῖ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ λεοντοπάρδου.
Ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα ἔχω καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν·
πάρδος γὰρ εἶμαι δυνατός, ὅλως ἀνδρειωμένος
καὶ πάντα τὰ τετράποδα ὅλα καταπονῶ τα."

[122]Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* I, 276-277. The translation is by A. Van Millingen

important in real terms. Kantakouzenos was by no means an isolated case of an intellectual high aristocrat. Andronikos Palaiologos, a nephew of Michael VIII, was apparently the author of popular works as varied as a treatise against the errors of the Jews and the chivalrous romance in verse "Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe"[123]. Succesful generals might spend their times of leisure or retirement in intellectual pursuits: Michael Tarchaneiotes Glabas, for example composed an anthology of theological works[124]. Furthermore, in spite of the contents of their funerary epigrams, the aristocrats of late Byzantium were never depicted as warriors on their tombs or dedications. They always appeared in civilian costume, often that corresponding to their court office[125]. In that aspect late Byzantine aristocrats are radically differentiated not only from their contemporary Western peers but also from some of their military predecessors in earlier centuries[126]. Although the late Byzantine high aristocracy had definitely a military character, it was never conceptualized as a class of *bellatores*. Neither was this character stressed to the point of being a reference of social distinction, as it had become in parts of Western Europe through chivalry and the ceremony of dubbing. After all, the military function also characterized several lower-ranking officials reaching down to the *stratiotai*, but there is no indication that these enjoyed a privileged relationship with the high aristocracy as compared, for example, to the civil officials.

Marriage practices among the aristocracy

Perhaps the most telling indication of a social group's conscious self-differentiation is provided by marriage practices, especially as far as matrimonial relations with outsiders are concerned. There is no doubt that endogamy was the rule among the great aristocracy under the first Palaiologoi, as most cases already cited in this chapter make clear. Of course one

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[123]See PLP 21439 for the literature around the identity of that author.
[124]Philes II, 230-233
[125]For example in the Kariye Cami tombs (Underwood, *op.cit.*, vol.III, 534-552) or in the miniatures of the Lincoln College Typikon.
[126]Such as John Tzimiskes and Melias, depicted in a tenth-century fresco in the church of Nikephoros Phokas in Çavuşin, Cappadocia: N.Thierry, *Haut moyen-âge en Cappadoce. Les églises de la région de Çavuşin* I, Paris 1983, 48-49, pl.XVI. But in the same cycle the emperor's father and brother appear next to him in civilian costume.

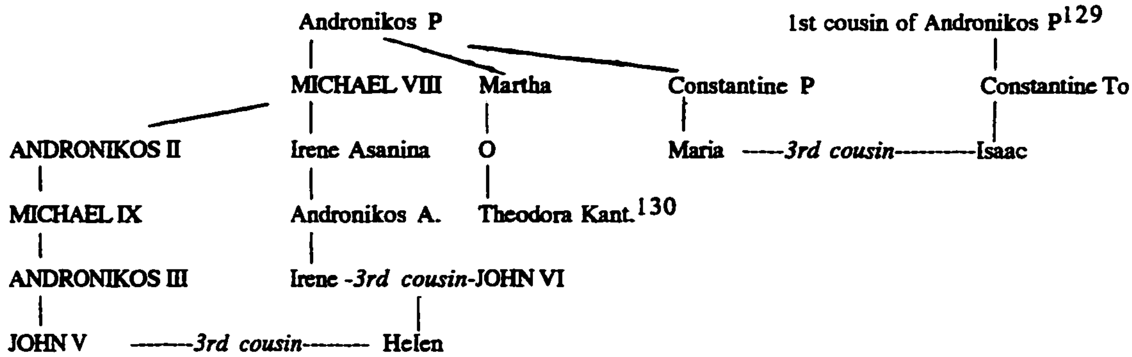
obvious obstacle to this practice would be the prohibited degrees of affinity which would not be unusual among such a dense network of relationships. Generally speaking, it appears that the canonical prohibitions were respected in spite of the difficulties that this created in finding suitable matches. Already after 1204 there was, as A. Laiou has observed, a tendency to abide more strictly by the canons after the relative laxity of the twelfth century. This was not unrelated to the fact that the role of the Church as the exclusive arbiter of disputed cases became emphasized after the dissolution of the empire in 1204. However, some elasticity was shown in cases touching upon imperial policy or the external affairs of the state[127]. Under the Palaiologoi it appears that there was a tendency to avoid marriage alliances of dubious legality: cases of similar disputes are absent from the patriarchal register of Constantinople between 1315 and the end of our period with one exception, in 1325, which does not concern members of the high aristocracy. In that case the forbidden matrimony was between a man and the niece of his nephew's wife, connected -according to the synod- in the sixth degree of affinity[128].

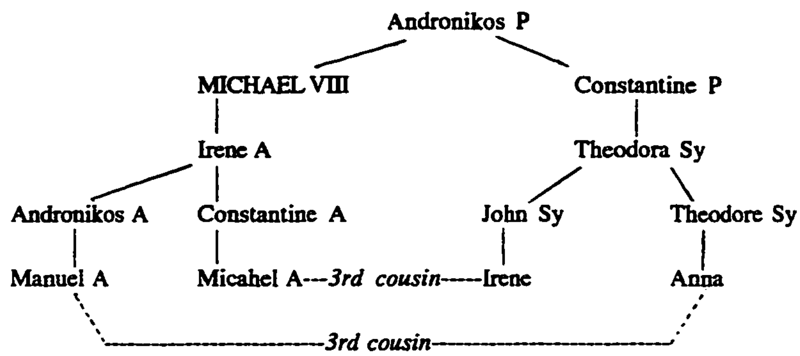
Among the high aristocracy marriages between relatives in the eighth degree of consanguinity are rather common, indicating that this was the closest union that was certainly beyond doubt. Among the examples one may cite the marriage of Irene Asan (for the sake of clarity women are cited by the last name of their paternal line) and John Kantakouzenos (third cousins, since Martha, the sister of Michael VIII, was the great-grandmother of Kantakouzenos); their daughter Helen and John V were also third cousins. Isaac Tornikes and Maria Palaiologina are another similar case, as are Anna Synadene and Manuel Asan and Irene Synadene and Michael Asan. In the two latter couples we have the additional fact of two first cousins marrying two other first cousins, a union that apparently caused no problem. These cases are illustrated below:

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[127]A.Laiou, *Mariage, amour et parenté à Byzance*, 54-58

[128]Patr.Reg.I **94**, 532-534 and diagram, p.624. Another case of prohibited marriage (Patr.Reg.II **125**, 182-186) concerns the age of the bride and is not connected to this argument.





P=Palaiologos A=Asan To=Tornikes Sy=Synadenos Kant=Kantakouzenos

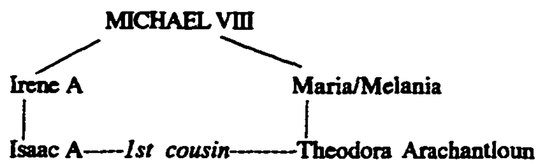
Although matrimonies like those described above were within acceptble limits, there were some cases of illicit unions. Isaac Asan, for example, married Theodora Arachantloun, who was his first cousin (fourth degree of consanguinity). There were however some factors that could have been taken into consideration and made their union more acceptable. First, Maria, Theodora's mother, was an illegitimate daughter of Michael VIII. It appears that the ecclesiastic jurists of the early thirteenth century, though, accepted such relationships as creating the same obstacles as legitimate ones[131]. Then, as it appears both by the strange last name and from what we know about her mother's life , Theodora may not have been a

[129] That is the wife of Demetrios Tornikes:Akrop.I, 93. I am not citing references for relationships that are well established and included in the PLP

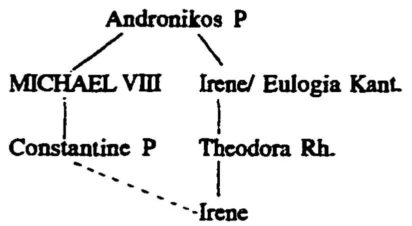
[130] Martha was the maternal grandmother of Theodora:Kantak.II, 223

[131] Laiou, *op.cit.* 57

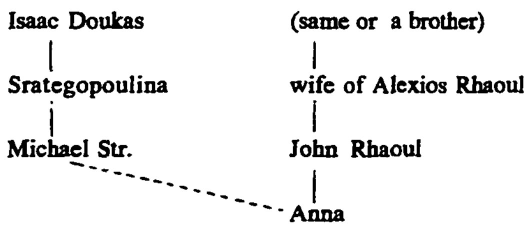
biological but an adoptive or perhaps spiritual daughter of Maria/Melania, perhaps a Mongol girl[132]. Perhaps this was counted as a factor that made the marriage acceptable:



A certainly illicit marriage, that does not appear to have raised any objections as far as we know, was that of the Porphyrogennetos Constantine, son of Michael VIII to Irene Rhaoulaina who was the daughter of his first cousin, that is, a fifth-degree relative:

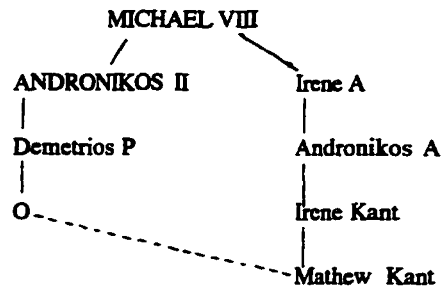


Another case that may concern an illicit union is that of Anna Rhaoulaina[133] and Michael Strategopoulos. Both were descended from a brother of John III[134]. Depending on whether this is in both cases the same person or two different brothers, we have to do with consanguinity in the fifth or in the seventh degree:



The seventh degree of consanguinity between couples, although rare, is encountered and it is not certain that it was strictly prohibited. One clear case is the marriage of Mathew I Kantakouzenos to a daughter of the despot Demetrios.

[132]MM I, 313. Maria had been married to the Mongol khan Abaqa and after his death returned to Constantinople where she became a nun. There is no other information about children she may have had from him.
[133]For her identity see PLP 26893
[134]For Rhaoul see Akrop.I, 92



In any case, the fact that in several instances the high aristocrats exhausted the legal-canonical margins that they had for marriage connections and sometimes even transgressed them could indicate the social pressure that existed in favor of endogamous unions within a rather saturated group. On the other hand endogamy never became the absolute norm and the high aristocratic group remained surprisingly open to matrimonial connections with outsiders. Apart from the best-known cases, that is, the marriages of the sons and the nephew of Andronikos II to the daughters of his ministers, Theodore Mouzalon, Nikephoros Choumnos and Theodore Metochites respectively[135], we can find several parallel instances. Theodore, the son of Michael VIII married the daughter of Libadarios, who, in spite of her "ennoblement" through her grandfather, did not belong to the solid core of the high aristocracy[136]. Another nephew of Andronikos II, Andronikos Palaiologos (Angelos) married the daughter of the *megas logariastes* Kokalas[137]. The funerary epigram of the logothete Phakrases Sideriotes mentions as the crowning achievement of his career that he managed to have his children married into the imperial family[138]. Michael Angelos Doukas, whose family connections are unknown but who was called *paneugenestatos*, took as his first wife the daughter of a Pharmakes and after her the daughter of Demetrios Spartenos, both members of Thessalonian families making the transition from the upper urban class to the low aristocracy[139]. A similar case might be that of Demetrios Asan, whose family connections are not known but who must have certainly been a relative of the better-known

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[135]Pach.II, 180 (Mouzalon); 289 (Choumnos); Greg.I, 271 (Metochites)
[136]See above, p.248
[137]Kantak.I, 232
[138]Philes I, 378-379
[139]Lavra II **98**, 137

Asanai, since the name was rather new and not at all widespread. He married the daughter of Panaretos, another common middle-class name[140]. To these cases one could add individuals who bear illustrious names but are not obviously connected with the "clan" of the high aristocracy, such as John Kaballarios, married to the daughter of an *oikeios*, Theodore Babouskomites[141].

It is not difficult to observe that most of the above examples fit a general pattern: it is a man from the high aristocracy who gets married to a woman of lower origins. Whenever this can be checked we see that the marriage could have been highly profitable: Choumnos and Metochites were fabulously wealthy and their daughters' dowries must have been enviable. Kokalas and Sideriotes were high officials of the financial administration and it is not unlikely that they were very rich. The dowry given by Pharmakes was an extensive *zeugelateion* in Chalkidike. The fortunes of the men who get married vary: some are close relatives of the emperor and the probable reason for their "low" match is -apart from an occasional desire by the emperor to satisfy his collaborators- the need for a substantial influx of wealth that can enable them to maintain a prodigal lifestyle at a time when the capacity of the empire to endow them with state grants is limited. Some others, such as Asan or Kaballarios, appear to be scions of important families, but it is likely that their real status and means did not match the lustre of their names. In a more modest and provincial scale, we may have again to do with ambitious and successful upstarts buying through a rich dowry the lustre of an aristocratic name -and perhaps some hint of *eugeneia*- that will be borne by their daughters and grandchildren. These intermarriages were certainly not unconnected with the need of aristocrats to renew their economic basis with each generation, as presented in the previous chapter. And it is noticeable that the examples cited appear under the reign of Andronikos II, at a time when, as has been noted, the empire's resources were shrinking while those who coud lay claim to a share of them were multiplying.

140 Xérop.**26**, 193: it is the name of his mother in law, Panaretina that is given
141 Patr.Reg.I **43**, 304

Another indication of intermarriage practices is the appearance of new, illustrious family names among the descendants of families of the upper middle class or the civilian aristocracy. It has already been mentioned that the sons of Theodore Metochites bore the names of Laskaris and Angelos[142]. The son of Phokas Maroules was called John Synadenos whereas the second son of Theodore Padyates was called John Laskaris[143]. Certain combinations of names in the same person or shared among siblings can also be used as evidence of a mixture of lineages: for example Agape Angelina Sphrantzaina Palaiologina, sister of a Spartenos; Maria Komnene Rhaoulaina Kassiane; the brothers George Atouemes Monomachos and Michael Senachereim Monomachos; Manuel Kourtikes Tarchaneiotes[144]. In those cases we do not have necessarily to do with intermarriages between high and middle aristocracy: many illustrious names were spread far beyond the limits of the privileged class surrounding the emperor. It should also be noted that, unlike the pattern observed above, in many cases we have men from non-illustrious families who get married to women-bearers of prestigious family names. Since we do not know the exact background of the latter we can only formulate a plausible hypothesis about the motives for such unions. People like Metochites, Maroules or Padyates had assured -or at least hoped- that their line would continue to form part of the aristocracy. But they knew that their descendants would have to compete for success among people of much more distinguished background. Part of their long-term family planning will then have been the marriage to a wife that could lay claim to an illustrious name, without necessarily being closely connected with the most prominent contemporary bearers. This name would be transmitted to the children, who would thus not stick out as parvenus among the other aristocrats. Branches of former aristocratic families in decline would be a possible source of convenient marriage matches. Another example from 1315 illustrates how the female descendents of a family of aristocratic background could be married off to men of less distinguished pedigree: the names that allow us to reconstruct the

[142]PLP nos.17977, 17980, 17985, 17986
[143]Patr.Reg.I, 572; II, 274
[144]PLP nos.21341, 24143, 19298, 19306, 27503

family line are that of a certain Angelos, his daughter, Theodora Doukaina Balsamina, his daughter-in-law, Eudokia Philantropene and his granddaughter's husband, Cheilas[145]. Assuming that Eudokia is cited by her husband's name (the most common practice) we can deduce that Angelos' son had that name from his mother's side. Probably at first we had a marriage between an Angelos and a Philanthropene, both bearers of aristocratic names, sometime in the second half of the thirteenth century, but not too late. One of the two was probably responsible for the name of Doukas borne by their daughter. That daughter, however, was married to Balsamon,the son of a *hypertimos* (church official), and one generation later the daughter of Philanthropenos was also given in a similar way to Cheilas, also apparently middle class. This should perhaps be connected to the sharp decline in Angelos' fortunes, sometime around the turn of the century. He could survive, we are told, only with difficulty[146] and, although this occured after his daughter's marriage, it is not unlikely that his problems had already begun before that. In this case as well we see that the shift towards the mixture of lineages and names of unequal status can be connected with the reign of Andronikos II.

The conclusions from the above survey agree and complement the observations made in the first chapter. There was indeed a distinct group at the higher level of the aristocracy, composed of people who were related to the imperial family by blood and who bore names drawn from a particular stock of highly distinguished families of the past. Their ethos and training were predominantly military although they never had a restricted vision of themselves as a warrior class. They assumed military commands, often accompanied by a high-ranking court office of a military nature. They also were the candidates for the provincial governorships, as seen in chapter III. After the perturbations and new arrangements connected with the dynastic change of 1259 and by the reign of Andronikos II, this group was acquiring the aspect of an extended "clan" into which tended to dissolve the older family

[145]Patr.Reg.I 23, 232-234
[146]Ibid., 232:"καταντήσαντος εἰς στενότητα βιωτικήν"

clusterings that were based on kinship along the paternal line. But at the same time as the higher aristocracy began to crystallize and acquire a distinct conscience, it also started to open its lines to outsiders under the effects of the strains that overcrowding and external difficulties were posing to the system. While new blood was buying its way in, lateral branches of the aristocratic families of the thirteenth century who had not managed to renew their ties of kinship with the imperial family or those close to it began merging with the low aritocracy and the middle classes, as the patterns of intermarriage and the spread of aristocratic surnames indicates.

III. The middle and low aristocracy and its social attitude

In spite of its relative openness, it has been possible to treat the high aristocracy as a more or less homogeneous group and examine aspects such as family structure, ideology and marriage practices. This approach however does not help us much as far as the other subgroups within the aristocracy are concerned. The aristocracy of offices and titles was much more open in its lower levels and its members could come from varying backgrounds. The only categorization that might be made is that based on the nature of their occupations and offices. We can distinguish careers of an entrepreneurial-financial nature, others of a more military character and others where the educational-intellectual aspect is more emphasized but, as we have seen in the first chapter, the lines are not at all clear. We cannot safely place the individuals of our lists -much less their families !- under those categories. Therefore we restrict ourselves to some observations: first, it appears that few if any of these aristocrats were complete *parvenus*, who made their way from rags to riches. We hear of some *stratiotai* who were raised to high office, such as George Margarites, "rustic and born of rustics, brought up on barley and bran and only knowing how to make howling sounds"[147]. Even in this case, we have obviously to do with an exaggeration. In any case,

[147]Akrop.I, 123

this individual began his career not as a peasant but as a *stratiotes* enrolled in the army of his theme[148] and, admitting that the status of *stratiotai* could vary[149], he did not make his way up from the depths of society. A more peculiar case could be that of Theodore Mouzalon who also began as a *stratiotes*, but thanks to the particular care of the emperor he acquired an education and advanced to the high administrative offices. Again, we do not know how low Mouzalon's fortunes had been as a soldier or what his family background was. Although there is no information in the sources, we should not rule out the possibility that he was related to George Mouzalon and his unfortunate brothers, the collaborators of Theodore II who perished in 1258. Although it is not unlikely that political ambition got Michael Palaiologos involved in their murder, there is no indication that he was an enemy of their family; on the contrary, George Mouzalon had been married to one of Michael' s nieces[150]. This could explain the interest shown by Michael as emperor for the young Theodore, probably manifested soon after his accession (by 1280 Theodore had completed his education, had married and had risen to become *mesazon*, chief minister)[151].

Through the thirteenth century it appears that a good education combined with talent could suffice to promote someone at high offices and even serve as a key to enter the high aristocracy. Already under Theodore Lascaris we see a descendant of an old family of civil servants and intellectuals, Demetrios Tornikes, assume the duties of *mesazon*. Extremely powerful during his lifetime, Tornikes formed marriage alliances with the most prominent aristocrats of his time and his progeny remained well entrenched inside the high aristocracy[152]. The rise of George Akropolites was even more impressive since, unlike Tornikes, he did not have a family tradition to rely upon but owed his career to his education and to his personal acquaintance with Theodore II, also a disciple of Nikephoros Blemmydes. Akropolites retained his rank of Grand Logothete under Michael VIII and transmitted his

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148 Ibid.:"ἐτέλει τά πρῶτα ἐν τῇ τοῦ θέματος τουτουὶ στρατιᾷ"
149 See M.Bartusis, *Late Byzantine Army*, 164-166
150 Pach.I i, 41
151 Pach.I ii, 625
152 See Schmalzbauer, "Tornikioi", 115-119. Also Akrop.I, 90, 93 for the relations of Dem. Tornikes with the Palaiologoi and the Petraliphai

prominence and his office to his son Constantine, although his lineage does not appear to have continued beyond that. A parallel pattern on a less impressive scale was demonstrated by Michael Senachereim. At first a patriarchal secretary, a teacher of rhetoric and poetry he was raised before 1259 to the office of *protoasecretis* and remained prominent under Michael VIII. Although there is no clear evidence, it appears that the various Senachereim who subsequetly appear among the high aristocracy, mainly as bearers of military offices are his descendants[153]. The other two intellectuals who achieved high success in court are of course Nikephoros Choumnos and Theodore Metochites. It is noticeable that Choumnos at least did not rely uniquely upon his intellectual activities but supported his rise by investments of a more business-like kind: before 1295, for example, he had the *demosiake enoche tes dyseos*[154]. In that, he was closer to the type that tended to prevail in the fourteenth century. "Pure" intellectuals whose only capital was their education do not appear to have fared well in the new era. Without necessarily accepting the exaggerated picture of the "starving" intellectual, we see that most of the known litterati from the first half of the fourteenth century, including Nikephoros Gregoras, George Oinaiotes, George Lakapenos, Manuel Philes or the brothers John and Michael Gabras did not, as far as we know, advance to court offices or even hold titles[155], although they did not pursue careers in the ecclesiastical administration either, as did many other intellectuals (e.g. Manuel Gabalas or John Pediasimos, who did eventually become "consul of the philosophers"[156]). The people who advanced into the aristocracy were less like them and more like the brothers Leo and John Bardales who got involved in the business of the *apographai*, all while retaining some activity of an "intellectual" type, such as corresponding in a rhetoric style, copying

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[153]PLP 25154 (Michael). For other Senachereim probably related to him, see PLP 25150, 25146, 25141, 25138, 25155

[154]Iviron III **67**, 136

[155]Some of them made a living by working for the state, perhaps as staff in the departments of the administration. This appears to have been the case with Michael Gabras (see G.Fatouros, *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras (ca. 1290-nach 1350)* vol. I, Vienna 1973, 20-29)

[156]Gabalas was first *Chartophylax* in Philadelpheia and later metropolitan of Ephesos; Pediasimos was *chartophylax* in Ohrid. PLP nos.3309 and 22235

manuscripts or writing poetry[157]. The absence of references to trading activities of the aristocracy has already been mentioned. This does not rule out the possibility that the families of some low officials were involved in trade. For example Nicholas Chatzykes who obtained through the mediation of the patriarch Gregory of Cyprus an alleviation (*ateleia*) from the *kommerkion*, the basic toll on trade, could be related to the *sebastos* George Chatzikes, a court official a generation later[158]. Unfortunately, references to Byzantine merchants of any background are rare before the middle of the fourteenth century and this connection cannot be further explored.

The aristocracy and the Church

When trying to trace the social origins of the low-ranking officials we stumble upon the fact that, unlike the high aristocrats, we only encounter them mentioned once or twice and scarcely learn anything about their relatives, wives or children. We have therefore to rely heavily on the coincidence of last names that may help us locate posible relatives. This is highly unreliable, although most middle-class families appear to follow the traditional patrilineal system of family names, at least until they begin their social ascent and intermarriages with more distinguished lineages. The most important low-aristocratic families that can be traced in that way have aleady been presented in chapter II. But there is another important aspect of those middle and low aristocrats that should be discussed and this is their particular relationship with the administration of the Church. Although most church prelates are usually cited by their official ecclesiastical name, some sources cite their family name and occasionally they also give information concerning their relatives. But the richest source of information on that subject are the names of the lay officials of the Church, such as the *chartophylakes*, *sakelliou*, *oikonomoi* etc., to whom could be added the clerical office of

[157]PLP nos. 2182-2183. As mentioned earlier, Leo Bardales is probably also identical with PLP 2179, the *apographeus* of Pach. II, 618
[158]Greg. Cyp. Ep., no. 128. George Chatzikes is PLP 30724

archdeacon. These officials were quite important as such: they administered the property of the bishopric or metropolis that they served; the *chartophylax* could give advice on canonical matters such as the legality of marriages or divorces, always subect to the authority of the bishop or the local synod. But most importantly, it appears that often the bishops were chosen from among the archons of the church, even if these had previously been laymen. Such examples would include the patriarchs of Constantinople Michael IV, Nikephoros II, John XI Bekkos and Gregory II of Cyprus; the archbishop of Bulgaria Demetrios Chomatianos; the metropolitan Mathew of Ephesos. There are too many exceptions to allow one to say with certainty that the archons were the unique pool from which bishops were chosen. Yet their only competition seems to have come from the monastic community and it is usually impossible to trace the background of monks who became bishops. In any case, we may consider a family providing one or several ecclesiastical archons as closely related to the Church establishment.

One group of homonyms who may indicate a family tradition shared between the middle class and the Church are the Autoreianoi, who include two patriarchs, Michael IV and Arsenios, a *doux* of the Thrakesion theme and a cadastral official (*exisotes*) in Con/ple (the latter two around 1300)[159]. Two court officials with the ancient name of Bryennios (the *epi tes trapezes* in 1272 and a military commander and *megas droungarios* in the 1320's) may be connected with an ecclesiastic archon (Gregory Bryennios, *sakelliou* of Thessalonica) and an intellectual (Manuel Bryennios) of that name[160]. Perhaps the most characteristic example of a family whose members were distinguished both in ecclesiastic and lay carreers are the Kabasilai[161]. It was probably an ecclesiastic who lifted the family to prominence, Constantine Kabasilas who became already before 1235 metropolitan of Dyrrachium and Strumitza and aferwards archbishop of Bulgaria[162]. His brothers, John and Theodore had a share in his

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[159]On Michael IV see *ODB*, sv.. The others are PLP nos.1692, 1694, 1696
[160]PLP nos. 3248, 3251, 3253, 3260
[161]See 'A.'Αγγελόπουλος, "Τὸ γενεαλογικό δένδρο τῆς οἰκογενείας τῶν Καβάσιλων", *Makedonika* 17(1977), 369-396
[162]According to the *ODB* s.v. "Kabasilas" these were different prelates with the same name! Although I find it unlikely (there is no reason to suppose that the canonical prohibition of moving from one see to another

success and by the 1250's Theodore was a *prouchon* while John was the most important advisor of the court of Michael II of Epiros. In 1259 they defected to the Nicene side and were instrumental in the capture of Achris, to whose throne Constantine was reinstated after having been deposed by Theodore II[163]. As mentioned earlier, the Kabasilai appear subsequently settled in Thessalonica, although a branch must have remained in Epiros. They included court officials, such as the doctor (*aktouarios*) of Michael VIII, an *epi tou stratou* around 1300 and a logothete of the *stratiotikon* (fl.1316-1327). But they also continued to give high-ranking Church archons, such as George Kabasilas, *megas oikonomos* of Thessalonica (1295), Demetrios, *megas sakellarios* and *dikaiophylax* of the same metropolis (1320's) and Michael Kabasilas, archdeakon and *sakelliou* of the Great Church (1340s-1350s). To these one could add some intellectuals like Andronikos or Nicholas Kabasilas to get a picture of the variety of careers open to those people, who were probably relatives, although it is not certain whether they had the coherence that would allow them to be called an extended family[164].

Another case of a prelate helping his family's social ascent is provided by Theodore Kerameas, archbishop of Thessalonica. Although he was deposed and had lost most of his property before his death around 1284, one of his brothers was Domestic of the Western themes, an office with fiscal connotations[165]. At the same time a certain Michael Kerameas was *apographeus* of the theme of Thessalonica[166]. Perhaps Demetrios Kerameas, whose soldiers invaded the house of John Gabras in Constantinople around 1320 was also a fiscal functionary[167]. That the ecclesiastic connection was maintained appears by the fact that a century after Theodore another Kerameas, Neilos, ascended the patriarchal throne[168].

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was rigorously respected under the despotate), it would be a further demonstration of that family's connections to the church.

[163]Akrop.I, 166-167

[164]The respective PLP nos of those individuals are 10067, 10068, 10090, 10077, 10085, 10101, 10074, 30539

[165]Lavra II 75, 30-31

[166]PLP 11646

[167]Gabras Ep., 181, 238, 267, 366, 378

[168]Neilos I (1380-1388)=PLP 11648

Another Thessalonian middle-class family, not prominent in our period but immediately afterwards, that of Kydones, may owe its establishment in the city to a prominent churchman. Ioannikios Kydones had been abbot of the monastery of Sosandra and therefore the "host" of the events of 1258 that culminated with the assassination of the Mouzalones. His unknown role at that time may not be unconnected with his election less than two years later to the metropolitan see of Thessalonica[169]. Although the Kydonai are alsmost absent from the sources of this period, Demetrios Kydones later would assure that his family was distinguished in Thessalonica and that they had to flee the Zealot riots[170].

A less remarkable but indicative case would be that of the Meliteniotai: Constantine Meliteniotes was an official of the Great Church ca.1270-1282; an *epi tou kanikleiou* (John Gabras Meliteniotes) and an imperial treasurer (Nicholas Meliteniotes) bore the name in the fourteenth century before the *mesazon* John Meliteniotes in 1341[171].

Intermarriages between the middle aristocracy and members of the families of ecclesiastics were not rare: the logothete Constans Hagiotheodorites (ca. 1250-1260) was the son-in-law of the metropolitan of Ephesos[172]. Alexios Apokaukos had married the daughter of a cleric of the great Church by the name of Dishypatos[173]. This was a family with a long tradition of church officials, including a metropolitan of Thessalonica in the thirteenth century, but it also produced an *oikeios* of the emperor and a tax-collector in the 1320's[174]. Sometime before 1343 the patriarch John Kalekas also gave his daughter in marriage to the son of the"strong man" of the day, John Batatzes[175].

169Pach.I i, 177. It should be mentioned without further comment that Skoutariotes, the pro-Lascarid author who most explicitely attributes the events of 1258 to an aristocratic conspiracy, strongly disliked Ioannikios Kydones: according to Skoutariotes, Kydones was a candidate in the patriarchal election of 1254. He was eliminated during the process of seeking divine omens by opening the gospel at a random page, when the gospel's verdict described him as "the donkey and its young": Akrop.I, 289

170Démétrius Cydonès, *Correspondance* (ed. R. Loenertz) I, Vatican 1956, 2-4

171PLP nos 17856, 17854, 17861, 17853; the latter may well be identical with the *epi tou kanikleiou.*

172PLP 241

173Kantak.II, 120

174PLP 5544, 5527, 5530

175Kantak.II, 475

The close connections between the middle aristocracy and the Church are not really surprising, since after all the two groups moved in the same social milieu. Historically it has deep roots and goes back to the situation of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the ecclesiastic posts were occupied by the same families that were specializing in providing the empire with its civil administrators. As A.Kazhdan has demonstrated, a large percentage (around 36.5%) of those families of the "civilian aristocracy" were represented in the ecclesiastic administration, against about 13.5% of the families of the "military aristocracy", while the representatives of the latter were mostly unique and exceptional cases[176]. What appears problematic in our period, is the apparent indifference of the high aristocracy for breaking the tradition and seeking ecclesiastic careers. Not one of its members is attested as having acquired an episcopal post, a lower clerical rank or even an ecclesiastic office as layman[177]. The aristocrats' indifference for the latter two can be explained by their subordinate position and their unimpressive revenue. But in the case of the bishoprics, the lack of interest was probably the result of aristocratic inability to control the system of appointments. It is true that the emperors could greatly influence the election of bishops, although whether they would choose to do so depended on their character and the political expediencies of the moment. This influence, however, was always exerted within a framework of respect for appearances and the canonical traditions. An emperor could initiate investigations against unwanted prelates and influence synodal votes through means that ranged from a tacit expression of support for a view or a candidate, to open blackmail, bribery and psychological warfare; such means were amply used by Michel VIII in support of his policies and, in a milder way, by John Kantakouzenos in defense of Palamas. But no emperor could by-pass the canonical procedure and actually appoint a bishop. Nor is it

[176]Kazhdan, *Social'nyj sostav*, 150-153, 205

[177]One aristocratic prelate would be the exception: Theodosios, a member of the princely house of Achaia (the Villehardouin), who lived in Constantinople as an orthodox monk and bore the honorary title of uncle of the emperor, later became patriarch of Antioch (see Pach.Ii, 179; II, 55). We do not know whether Theodosios had been from the beginning brought up in Byzantium, an important point in order to consider him a Byzantine aristocrat.

conceivable that the synod would accept candidates who did not come from a background connected with the Church[178].

It is not very easy to evaluate the consequences of this distinction between the Church administration and the high aristocracy or inversely of the close connections of the former with the middle and low aristocratic strata. At an individual level such connections could lead to alliances for the profit of both sides: one example is the *krites tou fossatou* Constantine Cheilas who had the financial and fiscal administration of the area of Nicomedia. His *arche* brought disaster to the local monasteries except for that of Ostreidion which was particularly favored since its abbot, John Cheilas, was Constantine's brother and would later become metropolitan of Ephesos[179]. But it does not appear that any of the great controversies involving the Church during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries evolved along class lines or that they opposed the high aristocracy as a group to the Church establishment. Nor did the ecclesiastics openly challenge the established social order. Some patriarchs tried to protest what they perceived as instances of injustice: Arsenios went to great lengths in order to uphold the rights of the young John IV (*post eventum*, to be sure) but this did not signify an opposition to the aristocracy in the person of the usurper: Arsenios had not opposed the arrangements that laid all real power in the hands of Michael VIII in 1258. Furthermore, his posthumous following included, as we will see in detail later, many prominent aristocrats. Gregory of Cyprus attacked some cases of abuse in his letters and did not spare the lawless behavior of one of the most powerful grandees of the empire, the despot John Asen, when he virtually robbed the herdsmen who were bringing sheep inside Constantinople[180]. But apart from this his criticism is mostly directed against tax-collectors and low officials like the above-mentioned Constantine Cheilas, people from the same social background as himself and most of his correspondents. These people are also the main target of the outspoken

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[178]The only patriarch who had been a lay court official until his election was John XIII Glykys. But he was a well-known intellectual and his election was in accordance with a long Byzantine tradition of admitting distinguished lay intellectuals to the highest ecclesiastic posts. In the late period among those considered for the patriarchal see were Nikephoros Blemmydes and Nikephoros Gregoras.
[179]Greg. Cyp. Ep., nos. 102, 106
[180]Ibid., no. 132

criticism of Athanasios I. Although his correspondence with Andronikos II is permeated by the idea of rescuing "both poor man and beggar from stronger hands than theirs[181]", the high aristocracy is never directly attacked. At most, the patriarch will invite them explicitly to share in the expense of caring for the needy[182] or attack the laxity of the emperor as far as the morals of his relatives are concerned[183]. As was the case with Gregory, Athanasios' wrath is mainly pointed against the corruption of minor officials, to whom he adds the Latin merchants and mercenaries, the Armenians, Muslims and Jews of the city and, most vehemently of all, his fellow prelates of the Byzantine Church[184].

In general, it would appear that the Church administration and the high aristocracy of the empire were two distinct groups who had found a way of coexisting, each group respecting the traditional prerogatives of the other. The lay aristocracy followed the divisions and controversies of the Church but did not ever unite in an attempt to impose a particular course. The Church, in turn, did not challenge the social order nor did it attempt to actively intervene in political affairs: when the patriarch Arsenios tried to fulfill his assigned role as guarantor of John IV's rights and excommunicated the usurping emperor, he found himself isolated from the other prelates. The position of John Kalekas, one of the main leaders of the anti-kantakouzenist faction in 1341-47, was equally isolated; when he lost the support of the empress Anne he was immediately deposed and condemned as a heretic by a council, even before the victory of John Kantakouzenos.

[181]Athanasius Ep., 16
[182]E.g. letter 22 (Athanasius Ep., 52), where he asks that each of the *archontes* assume the support of a number of refugees.
[183]In letter 107 (Athanasius Ep., 268) the target is the despot Constantine who is allowed to "wickedly swagger about at night, fully armed, together with the son of the prefect".
[184]Examples for attacks on corruption in Athanasius Ep., 42, 56-58, 152, 256.

Middle class attitudes towards the high aristocracy: the evidence of literature

The literary production of the period was dominated by individuals who moved in the fringes of the aristocracy and came mostly from the middle classes[185]. One would expect them to share the ideological outlook of the people who formed the low and middle aristocracy and to reveal to us the attitude of this group towards the high aristocracy. This is hardly the case, however. As in the preceding centuries, the high aristocrats, although they participated with a very small percentage in the production of literary works, were extremely important as patrons[186]. Most of the works that deal with the high aristocracy are virtually adressed to that group and attempt to express, rather than challenge, the ideology of this class. This is most evident in works such as the poems of Manuel Philes or the various collections of letters, such as those of Michael Gabras or Theodore Hyrtakenos. But the phenomenon was not restricted to the "beggar intellectuals". Remarkably outspoken authors, such as Maximos Planoudes or George Pachymeres, do not attack the high aristocracy as a social group. Nikephoros Gregoras, who turned mid-way in his history from eulogist to polemicist, did not change his pro-aristocratic social outlook on the civil war and its social disturbances, although he did not hesitate to attack both John VI and Anne of Savoy. Perhaps a significant difference between the two historians, Pachymeres and Gregoras, should be noted: whereas Pachymeres has some genuine positive feelings towards various members of the high aristocracy, such as the Despot John, Michael Tarchaneiotes Glabas, or even Alexios Philanthropenos[187], Gregoras does not display any sympathy at all towards individual high aristocrats of his lifetime; his main hero, John Kantakouzenos, could be an exception, but Gregoras himself set the record straight in the latter part of his work[188]. The only relatively

[185]See I.Ševčenko, "Society and Intellectual Life in the Fourteenth Century", *Actes du XIVe congrès international des études byzantines*, Bucarest 1974, vol.I, 69-79

[186]Ševčenko, "Society and Intellectual Life", 79-87

[187]Pach Ii, 285-287 (John Palaiologos); II, 271 (Glabas); II, 210-11(Philanthropenos)

[188]The open attack on Kantakouzenos begins late in the *History*, esp. after Greg.III, 150. It appears to me that Gregoras uses especially the discourse of John V in III, 158-166 as a statement of denial of all that he had written earlier about the causes of the civil war. The author is consistently hostile to Anne of Savoy throughout the *History*.

positive characterizations of Gregoras are reserved for the emperors Andronikos II and John V, his patron and teacher Theodore Metochites, and the *basilissa* Eulogia Palaiologina, widow of the Despot John Palaiologos and an anti-Palamite[189]. It should be noted that the latter two aristocrats shared Gregoras' social origins (Eulogia was the daughter of Nikephoros Choumnos). The personal temperament and different experiences of the two authors had no doubt a role to play in the distinct attitude of Gregoras and Pachymeres, but we should not rule out a more general change in attitudes during the half century that separates their work.

It would appear from all the above that the authors had to a degree internalized the ideology of the high aristocracy, or that they shared it altogether. The middle of the fourteenth century, however, saw the appearence of works in an altogether different vein as far as social critique is concerned. The *Diegesis paidiofrastos*, mentioned earlier, is not of great help to us because we do not know either its author or the audience for which it was intended. Both its language and its references to the material environment of everyday life (in the passages where the animals boast of the use of their body parts by humans) indicate that it was addressed to a middle class urban milieu. It should be stated that the struggle between the carnivores and the herbivores -in which the latter ultimately were victorious- is not intended to imply a parallel with struggles between social classes and the eventual overthrow of the aristocracy. The introductory verses make it clear that the moral of the poem (that those who break conventions are punished no matter how powerful they may be) applies to the external threats that the empire faces from its perfidious enemies[190]. On the other hand, the carnivores are clearly modelled after the high aristocracy surrounding the emperor and the irreverent way in which they are treated shows no particular sympathy towards them. Even if one leaves

[189]Greg.I, 271-272, 481 (Metochites); III, 238 (Eulogia)

[190]Tsiouni, *Paidiofrastos diegesis*, 59: Ἔχουσιν δ᾿ ὅμως ἔννοιαν καὶ βάρος τὰ τοιαῦτα·
νόησε μόνον ἀκριβῶς τὴν ἔννοιαν τὴν ἔχουν·
ὅταν τὰ ἔθνη μεθ᾿ ἡμῶν ποιοῦσιν ψευδαγάπην,
ὑπερθαρροῦντες εἰς ἰσχὺν ἄρδην ἡμᾶς ὀλέσαι
σώζει μας δὲ τὸ δίκαιον, τὸ ἀψευδὲς τοῦ ὅρκου.

aside issues of style, it is hard to imagine this work as the product of one of the early fourteenth-century intellectuals that we know[191].

Another mid-fourteenth century work that has already been mentioned, the *Dialogue between the rich and the poor*, from 1343, offers some more valuable insights. Unlike the *paidiofrastos diegesis*, here we know both the name of the author and the particular milieu in which he was situated. Alexios Makrembolites had been connected to the *sebastos* Theodore Patrikiotes, the *apographeus* and collaborator of John Kantakouzenos in 1341[192], and the "rich" in Makrembolites' work appear to fit in the mould of the social category that Patrikiotes represented: the low and middle aristocracy, the *sebastoi*, the milieu of the fiscal entrepreneurs and low-ranking officials, the same milieu that occasionally produced a John Batatzes or an Alexios Apokaukos. According to the poem they are people connected with the court, whose activities and fortunes are situated in an environment of intense competition and insecurity. The rich are opposed to the really destitute, one of the main elements in the *Lumpenproletariat* that had made its presence so strongly felt after the outbreak of the civil war. This identification of the "rich" as the entrepreneurial class has already been made by Lj. Maksimović, who also advanced to the conclusion that the work is a covered attack on the class represented by Alexios Apokaukos written by an author with krypto-Kantakouzenist sympathies[193].

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[191]On the other hand its critical attitude is very mild compared to the late fourteenth/early fifteenth century poem known as *The narrative* or *rime of Belisarius* (ed. W.F.Bakker/A.F.van Gemert, Ἱστορία τοῦ Βελισαρίου, Athens 1988). In that work the aristocrats of the emperor's court, Kantakouzenos, Rhalles, Palaiologos, Asan, Laskaris, Kananos, Doukas, are real villains, who falsely accuse the brave general Belisarius. When he is restored to power by popular demand, Belisarius impales (or burns in one version) an aristocrat who dares speak against him (160-162). The soldiers who first mounted the walls of the enemy "castle of England" were "of low origins", "not Asan or Palaiologoi". But the evil aristocrats, this time augmented by Astras, Diplobatatzes, Prinkeps, Sphrantzes, Leontares, Primikerios and Kontostephanos, slander Belisarius again and persuade the emperor Justinian to blind him (it will be noted that the court aristocracy now includes several names that were not prominent during the first half of the fourteenth century). Such feelings are never expressed in the literature in our period. This does not necessarily mean that they did not exist; perhaps they could not be expressed.
[192]I.Ševčenko, "Alexios Makrembolites and his 'Dialogue Between the Rich and the Poor' ", 190-191
[193]Lj.Maksimović, "Die 'Reichen' des Alexios Makrembolites", *ZRVI* 20(1981), 99-109 (Serbocroat. with German summary)

This reasoning rests on the supposition that criticism of a social group is identical with enmity towards that group. But this is not always the case, especially in a work that has the didactic character of a sermon. Makrembolites is not writing as a *porte-parole* of the low-middle aristocracy, on the contrary, he is adressed to them in a moralizing and reproachful tone. But exactly because they are his audience he can be expected to move his argumentation within their social point of view: for example, he does not condone the looting of the rich's properties or social violence[194], but he puts the stress on charity and on removing class barriers on issues such as intermarriage. The high aristocracy forms naturally part of the "rich", but is not represented by the rich who speak in the dialogue: at a certain point the poor boast that their ranks include the working classes, while from among the rich come "the gamblers, voluptuaries, people bringing public calamities with their greediness, disrupters of civic order, spreading poverty". To make more clear to whom they refer, they add that "the ruler of the state would perform an act pleasing to God should he expel from the palace those who neglect even their own dependents so as not himself to be contaminated by their evil". The rich, and this is the important point, react with indignity, stating that these accusations do not concern them, the μεσότης, the "middle", but the "extremes": "it is from them that theft, drunkenness, laxity, slander, envy and murder take their origin"[195]. The poor accept the objection: if they adress themselves to the *mesotes*, it is because they are the only who show some compassion. Those of the "extreme" are completely lacking in charity and remember the poor only when their death is in sight -a probable reference to the pious endowments and the prescriptions for charitable distributions as part of their memorial services[196]. Makrembolites clearly did not expect his audience to have much sympathy for the noble "dice-rollers" that frequented the palace.

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[194]Makrembolites ideal of social justice is summed in the phrase "ἔστω ὑμῶν ἡ τρυφὴ καὶ ἡμῶν ἡ τροφή", "May luxury be your (the rich's) share and sustenance ours (the poor's)", Ševčenko, *op.cit.*, 208, 221(tr.)
[195]Ševčenko, *op.cit.*, 210, 222-223(tr.). All the quotations follow I.Ševčenko's translation
[196]For example those prescribed by Theodora Synadene in the *Typikon* of Bebaia Elpis, Delehaye, *Deux typica*, p.81

It is further interesting that Makrembolites attacks the one point that formed a bridge between the high aristocracy and his audience: marriage practices[197]. His proposal for intermarriages with the lower strata goes absolutely contrary to the traditional expectations and the social orientation of the middle class until then. It should not perhaps be taken literally: utopian though he was, he should hardly expect to persuade his audience to give their daughters to those who did not have anything to eat. But it could imply a rearrangement of alliances, conceivable only after the events of the civil war. During the riots of 1342 the urban mob had displayed an unsuspected and potentially dangerous power. On the other hand Kantakouzenos' high treason and the rather ambivalent early attitude of the high aristocracy were added to the somewhat negative moral image implied by the references to "rollers of dice". The high aristocrats now became "οἱ τὰς πόλεις συγχέοντες". The invitation of Makrembolites to the low-middle aristocrats to remember their social roots and approach the other urban classes was perhaps an alternative that many would have been considering seriously in riotous Thessalonica, for example.

The views of one person cannot be seen as generally representative of the attitude of the low aristocracy towards the circle of the imperial relatives, especially before the sudden shattering of the established order that occured in 1341-42. During the thirteenth century and the early part of the fourteenth there is little information about the existence of any class ideology among the low and middle aristocracy and practically no evidence of hostility or antagonism between them and the high aristocracy. There were various channels of contact and interpenetration between the two groups, especially through those "outsiders" of relatively undistinguished birth who managed to acquire high-ranking offices and those more or less distant lateral relatives of the high nobility who had not managed to remain in the top level of the social hierarchy and sank into relative obscurity. Unfortunately this group can mostly be traced only through the presence of their illustrious names among the name combinations of the middle and lower aristocracy.

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[197] Ševčenko, *op.cit.*, 207-8 , 220(tr.)

If we cannot accept that the aristocracy was divided along the vague line separating the high aristocrats from the rest, it remains a fact that the aristocratic group never displayed a unity of interest and aspirations. The aristocrats responded in different ways to the problems raised by the events of the one and a half century under examination here. In turn, their antagonisms, which sometimes broke into open conflict, greatly influenced the course of the empire's history. It is the causes, development and significance of these antagonisms and conflicts that the next chapter will attempt to describe.

V. THE ARISTOCRACY AND THE FATES OF THE EMPIRE

Perhaps the best way to follow the political behavior of the aristocracy and determine how it influenced the course of historical events is through examination of the relations of the dominant group with the imperial power. These relations, in turn, become more evident through the close observation of challenges to authority. The following chapter will attempt to follow the developments in this sphere during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, down to the civil war of 1341-1347 and its immediate aftermath. The main purpose is to examine possible interpretations of the political behavior of the aristocracy that would be consistent with the image of its nature and structure as presented in the preceding chapters.

The years immediately before the fourth crusade and the loss of the empire's capital saw an increasing alienation of Constantinople from the provinces, which was marked in the political level by the slackening of the control of the circle of imperial relatives -the high aristocracy of the Angelian regime- and the emergence of local potentates. It was the uprooting of the high aristocracy caused by the fall of Constantinople that forced the high aristocrats to turn their attention to the situation in the provinces. In a sense, the events following 1204 marked the victory of the high aristocracy over the local magnates for control of what remained of the empire: Western Greece came under the control of a first cousin of Isaac II and Alexios III, Michael Angelos, while Alexios III's son-in-law, Theodore Laskaris, managed to achieve the extraordinary task of imposing his authority over Western Asia Minor and at the same time defend his dominion from external threat. We saw in chapter II how the local potentates in Asia Minor did not manage to survive politically, although some of them came to terms with the new regime, while on the other hand their peers in Epiros maintained a good deal of authority locally, but without claiming political independence or challenging the ruling position of the Despots.

The same situation, however, that led to the consolidation of the control of the former Constantinopolitan aristocracy over the local aristocracy also brought to the surface in a more

acute way an old problem within the ruling group, namely the issue of imperial legitimacy and autocratic control. With the murder of Alexios II in 1183, the direct line of the Komnenoi came to an end. From that point onwards no emperor enjoyed uncontested legitimacy; this situation was reinforced by the fact that all the emperors from 1183 to 1204 ascended the throne not through the "legitimate" process of being crowned or indicated by their predecessor, but by violent means.

The problem of legitimacy

The loss of the capital added to these problems the removal of the traditional means of legitimizing imperial power *post eventum*, that is, control of the capital and coronation by the patriarch. Theodore Laskaris attempted to remedy this by having a synod-in-exile established in Nicaea. A new patriarch, Michael IV, was elected and he subsequently crowned Theodore as emperor in 1208. Although these proceedings were not explicitely challenged and there was no schism on account of Michael IV's election, the legitimacy of the new ecclesiastic and state authorities rested on a weak basis, as Demetrios Chomatianos, archbishop of Bulgaria and supporter of the rival claims of Theodore Doukas of Thessalonica, did not fail to notice in a letter to the patriarch Germanos. Answering the patriarch's protests about his crowning of Theodore Doukas, Chomatianos stated in his letter that "the West" did nothing but imitate the example of "the East": "just as an emperor has been proclaimed and a patriarch appointed in the province of Bithynia with no regard for the former usages in Constantinople. [...]For when has it ever been heard that the same metropolitan lead the flock of Nicaea and be called patriarch of Constantinople?"[1]. The well-known rivalry between the emperors of Nicaea and Thessalonica was ultimately decided by the outcome of events and belongs rather to the sphere of "international" relations; therefore it will not concern us here[2]. The main question

[1]Chom. 489-490
[2]On this see Α. Σταυρίδου-Ζαφράκα, *Νίκαια και Ήπειρος τον 13ο αιώνα. Ιδεολογική αντιπαράθεση στην προσπάθειά τους να ανακτήσουν την αυτοκρατορία*. Θεσσαλονίκη 1990

is the acceptance of the new rulers' legitimacy by the aristocracy within their dominion and the political relation of the aristocratic group with the sovereign.

The Western rulers and aristocratic challenges

We do not hear much about challenges posed by aristocrats to the authority of either the Despots of Epiros and Thessaly or the emperors of Thessalonica during the first decades of the thirteenth century. Aristocratic opposition to these rulers took mostly the form of desertion and joining the cause of the imperial rivals from the East, something manifested on many occasions after 1240. This phenomenon is probably to be connected with individual concern for political and social survival amidst a changing situation, rather than with a particular aristocratic attitude against the ruling power. A probable reason for this lack of internal dissent was the absence of important aristocratic families in the West. It was seen in Chapter II that, in spite of the claims of Chomatianos about an equal distribution of the Constantinopolitan aristocracy between East and West, there were no families in Epiros whose lineage and social importance could rival that of the Doukai-Komnenoi. Those who came closest were the Petraliphai, but, as has been mentioned, they were effectively incorporated into the government and family of the Despots.

It is noticeable that the only report that we have about a rebellious behaviour of the aristocracy in Epiros is connected with the *basilissa* Theodora, wife of Michael II and a Petraleiphaina by birth. Our very unsatisfactory source (the hagiographer Job) says that after Michael had repudiated Theodora in favor of his mistress, Gangrené, the grandees of the court revolted in his absence and forced upon the concubine a confession to malice and witchcraft. Michael was presented upon his return with a *fait accompli* and had to recall Theodora[3]. Although Job is very bad at reporting historical facts, this story does not appear entirely invented; a courtiers' revolt is a rather unusual means of advancing the plot towards a reconciliation between a wronged wife and an unjust husband. On the other hand it would

[3]Job, *Life of Theodora*, 904-908

not be surprising if this *coup* in the court had nothing to do with Theodora and her marital relations, especially since our only reliable source for events of the time, Akropolites, does not mention anything. Although this historian is only parenthetically interested in the internal affairs of the West, it is likely that had the events been as dramatic as Job describes then he would have taken notice. If we accept the tale as it is, we can see in it an indication of the power of the Petraliphai and the importance of this alliance for the authority of the Despots, but this is to be accepted very cautiously.

The aristocracy and the emperors of Nicaea

The situation in Nicaea was very different. From the beginning, Theodore Laskaris found himself surrounded by aristocratic refugees, including some who were descended from the Komnenian imperial "clan". Laskaris himself, though he is the first known person of that family name, probably had Komnenian blood in his veins, since he bore the name Komnenos in his seals[4]. His claim to the crown, however, lay mainly in his position as *gambros* of Alexios III. Theodore had been married sometime before 1204 to Alexios' oldest daughter, Anna, and, in the absence of any male descendants of Alexios, he was proclaimed heir apparent to the throne, as indicated by his title of Despot. In spite of that, however, his right to be emperor after 1204 was not accepted as a matter-of-fact. The reign of three emperors between the flight of Alexios III and the capture of Constantinople had somehow altered Laskaris' position as heir apparent. During the fatal night of 12-13 April 1204, as the crusader army was advancing through the streets of the city, two young aristocrats, Constantine Laskaris, Theodore's brother, and Constantine Doukas, appeared in front of a gathering in Hagia Sophia claiming the imperial title. According to Niketas Choniates, who may have been present in that occasion, lots were drawn and Laskaris was the winner, but he did not have time to assume the imperial insignia or to resist the crusaders in any way[5].

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[4] See Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 285, 443-444

[5] *Nicetae Choniatae Historia* (ed. J.L.van Dieten) I, Berlin 1975, 571-572

Theodore Laskaris, who had probably abandoned Constantinople in 1203 following his father-in-law's desertion, was obviously not considered as the natural heir among those who had remained in Constantinople, although it is probable that his brother based his candidacy on Theodore's status[6]. In Asia Minor, however, Theodore's relation to Alexios III and his title of Despot may have been crucial in allowing him to be accepted as ruler in the area of Bithynia, although not at once[7]. It was two years after the fall of the capital that a council of *periphaneis*, notable men, and church prelates proclaimed Theodore emperor, although his coronation took place sometime later. An obvious problem was that Alexios III, upon whom Theodore's legitimacy depended, was still alive and wandering in the West. There is no doubt that Theodore's coronation did not have Alexios' approval, as demonstrated by the old emperor's flight to Iconium and his alliance with the Seljuks against his son-in-law. The crisis of authority was solved with Alexios' capture and his forced tonsure[8]. But it remained a fact that Theodore's legitimacy sprang from an emperor who had openly opposed him and whom he himself had finally deposed.

It appears that from the very beginning the Palaiologoi held a very prominent position in the exiled empire[9]. It was Alexios Palaiologos whom Theodore Laskaris had succeeded as husband of Anna Angelina and as heir apparent to the empire, after Alexios' death. The importance that Alexios' family maintained after 1204 is demonstrated by the fact that Theodore I, in his turn, selected Andronikos Palaiologos as his older daughter's husband and his appointed heir with the title of Despot. But once more an early death deprived the Palaiologoi of their chance to the empire. The emperor's daughter was married to John

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[6]For Theodore's flight and his establishment in Bithynia see Oikonomidès, "La décomposition de l' empire byzantin à la veille de 1204 et les origines de l' empire de Nicée", *XVe congrès international d'études byzantines*, Athens 1976, 22-28

[7]Akrop.I, 10-11

[8]Ibid., 12-17

[9]The importance of the Palaiologoi goes back to the eleventh century. George Palaiologos was married to a sister of Irene Doukaina, wife of Alexios Komnenos. This gave to his family a prominent position in the "clan" of the Komnenoi and their relatives. They were one of the few families of this "clan" who were not persecuted by Andronikos I and later another George Palaiologos supported the coup of Alexios III. Therefore the prominence of the Palaiologoi around the time of the fourth crusade is not surprising (see Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 443)

Batatzes who eventually succeeded Theodore after his death[10]. In general, Theodore had ultimately been successful in rebuilding around him the allegiances of the former court of Alexios III, people such as the Palaiologoi or Basil Kamateros[11].

John III's position upon his accession was also weak. To begin with, he was not even first in the line of succession, since Theodore had left an eight-year old son from his repudiated Armenian second wife. It is very unlikely that Theodore had accepted that his son be by-passed in favor of John[12]. The fact that, unlike Palaiologos, John Batatzes was not proclaimed a Despot is probably an indication that Theodore intended his son to be his successor. We do not know through what process John ascended the throne or what happened to Theodore's son.

The first aristocratic challenge to John III came from the brothers of Theodore I. The Sebastocrators Alexios and Isaac had fled immediately after their brother's death and subsequently attacked John at the head of a Latin army. Defeated in Poimanenon in 1224, they were blinded. It is probable that the exile of Theodore I's two other brothers, Michael and Manuel, also began at that time[13]. It appears that the conflict between John III and the Laskareis was of a dynastic nature, perhaps not unconnected with the setting-aside of Theodore I's son.

John III followed up his victory at Poimanenon with a campaign against the Asiatic coast of the sea of Marmara, still under the Latin empire of Constantinople. During his absence a plot was hatched against him by certain aristocrats ("not a few" according to Akropolites), some of whom bore famous family names. Akropolites mentions those of Nestongos, Phlamoules, Tarchaneiotes, Synadenos, Stasenos, Makrenos and "numerous others". No details are given except for the fact that the emperor acted very swiftly and had

[10]Akrop.I., 26
[11]Angold, *Nicaea*, 62
[12]This son is not identical with Nicholas, another son of Theodore, who had been intended to succeed his father and an oath of allegiance was exacted for that purpose. Nicholas apparently predeceased Theodore. See N. Oikonomidès, "Cinq actes inédits du patriarche Michel Autôreianos", *REB* 25(1967), 122-124
[13]Akrop.I, 34. The reconciliation with the two exiled brothers may have come in 1246, when Michael, then in Thessalonica, collaborated in delivering the city to John III (Akrop.I, 79). In any case, both brothers were at the side of Theodore II as advisors at the beginning of his reign: Akrop.I, 109-110

the leaders of the conspiracy blinded and mutilated, while the rest were punished in less harsh ways[14]. The character of this aristocratic conspiracy is not clear: at its head were two first cousins of the emperor, Andronikos and Isaac Nestongos. Like Laskaris and Batatzes, their name had not appeared among the first ranks of the aristocracy in the previous century[15]. The same is true for the Grand Hetereiarch Flamoules. Tarchaneiotes, on the other hand, was the name of a family that was already prominent in the eleventh century and then was associated with the Komnenoi into the "clan" that ruled the empire, although it was rather eclipsed after the early twelfth century[16]. Even more distinguished was the family history of the Synadenoi, who maintained their prominence throughout the Komnenian era[17]. As seen in Ch.II, another branch of the family would be active in Epiros a few years later[18]. Stasenos, husband of Synadenos' sister, bears a name that did not rise to prominence before or after him. Makrenos was singled out for particularly harsh punishment. The excuse, as presented by Akropolites, was rather weak: it was discovered that Makrenos had often intended, while walking behind the emperor, to draw his sword and kill him. In any case, Makrenos also came from an obscure background, but his fall did not prevent other Makrenoi from being prominent during the thirteenth century.

The ideology and the program of the conspirators are unknown. Their immediate objective was to place Andronikos Nestongos on the throne ("τὸν καὶ βασιλείας ἐφιέμενον"). But the conspiracy is notable for several things. First, it does not appear to have been an expression of dynastic opposition. With the exception of Synadenos, the conspirators were not particularly distinguished by their family background, neither were they well connected to previous dynasties. The pretender Nestongos owed his distinction to his kinship with John III himself. The other important element is the conciliatory character of the emperor's reaction. Most conspirators were punished by temporary imprisonment. This was

14 Akrop. I, 36-37
15 See *ODB* s.v. "Nestongos"
16 Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 233, 371; *ODB* s.v. "Tarchaneiotes"
17 Hannick/Schmalzbauer, "Die Synadenoi", 127-133
18 Kantak.I, 37

probably done so that the other aristocrats of the court, who may have been related to the conspirators, would not be alienated. Indeed, families such as Nestongos, Tarchaneiotes or Makrenos remained prominent under John III's reign. That the conciliation was effective is also demonstrated by the fact that John III did not have to face any other internal challenge to his authority until his death.

The court of John III

In a way it is in the period of John III's rule that the high aristocracy of the late empire has its roots. Of course the names and biological lines of most aristocrats pointed back to several more or less aristocratic families of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. But these aristocratic families were a very large pool. It is under John III that it was narrowed down to a few individuals whose descendants would dominate the high aristocracy in subsequent years. These individuals were close collaborators of the emperor in the latter part of his reign. Most important -on account of his ancestry as well as his progeny- was the Grand Domestic Andronikos Palaiologos, whose wife, also a Palaiologina, was the daughter of the Despot Alexios Palaiologos, heir apparent to the empire around 1200. Another was the *protovestiarios* Alexios Rhaoul, who came from a family of Frankish origin, prominent under the Komnenoi and on the ascent under the Angeloi[19]. A third prominent aristocrat with roots in the pre-1204 regime was John Kantakouzenos, grandson of the *sebastokrator* John Angelos[20]. Other aristocrats of comparatively less distinguished origins include Nikephoros Tarchaneiotes, who succeeded Andronikos Palaiologos as Grand Domestic; the commanders Theodore Philes and Alexios Strategopoulos; Alexios Philanthropenos and George and Isaac Nestongos, all of whom appear under Theodore II, but must have already risen under John III. To these should be added Demetrios Tornikes, the emperor's *mesazon*. Some other descendants of old families were distinguished under John III but were among the last of

[19]Constantine Rhaoul, as well as George Palaiologos and Michael Kantakouzenos, had been among the most important supporters of the deposition of Isaac II by his brother, Alexios III, in 1195. See Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 128-129
[20]Planudes, Epigrams, 416 ff.

their name who remained among the high aristocracy: the *protosebastos* Theodore Kontostephanos, the Grand Chartulary Petraliphas or the Grand Duke Manuel Kontophre.

John III attempted to form marriage alliances with the most prominent among those aristocrats. Alexios Rhaoul and Michael Strategopoulos married nieces of the emperor, while Michael Palaiologos, the son of Andronikos, married the granddaughter of the emperor's brother. Overall it can be said that by the end of his reign John III had managed to restructure around him an aristocracy consisting not so much of the emperor's kinsmen as of his collaborators. Some of them were scions of old aristocratic families, but some represented lineages that achieved real distinction for the first time. The fact that this new aristocracy became so successfully entrenched at the top of society can perhaps be connected to the spectacular expansion of the empire during that period, an expansion that was in part owed to their skills as commanders. It is reasonable to suppose that the emperor's high officials and collaborators got the lion's share of the resources of conquered territories in the form of imperial grants, thus acquiring an economic base that sufficed to place their families beyond competition for at least one generation. In return, they contributed to the restoration of a sense of internal balance and loyalty after the confrontations that marked the early reign of John III.

The sudden disgrace of Michael Palaiologos came rather unexpectedly towards the end of that reign. In 1253 Michael, the son of the Grand Domestic Andronikos Palaiologos, was put on trial by a special imperial court under the accusation that six years earlier, while his father was commanding Thessalonica and Michael himself the cities of the Strymon valley, someone of his entourage had revealed a plan of treason. According to it, in the event that John III died, the Macedonian provinces controlled by the Palaiologoi would become independent and Michael Palaiologos would rule them with the support of the Bulgarians[21]. Pachymeres cites another version of the accusation, placing the Epirote Despot Michael II in the place of the Bulgarians[22]. After an eventful investigation, that included ordeal by duel and

[21]Akrop.I, 93-94
[22]Pach.I i, 37

a failed atempt to impose ordeal by fire, the court acquitted Michael. However, his planned marriage to the emperor's granddaughter (daugher of Theodore II), that would have brought him very close to the throne, was cancelled.

Akropolites makes the accusation against Michael Palaiologos sound so ridiculous that we are tempted to see behind the calumny a deliberate attack by the emperor. However, this should be ruled out: even if John III had been unable to get Michael condemned, he would not have consented to the marriage of Theodora, his grand-niece, to him immediately after the trial[23]. Possibly it all resulted from a personal enmity between the accuser, Nicholas Manklabites, a petty aristocrat of Melnik, and Michael, who had been the commander of that city. The affair perhaps got complicated once the ordeal by duel came out against Palaiologos. But the readiness with which the emperor listened to the accusation against a major aristocrat of his court was probably related to a real insecurity about his succession, caused by the character and attitude of his son, Theodore.

Theodore II and the alienation of the aristocracy

Under the reign of Theodore II a major rift occured between the high aristocracy, as it had been formed under John III, and the emperor. The forms that it took are well known: a series of disgraces and punishments of prominent aristocrats, including torture and mutilation. On their part, the aristocrats reacted after Theodore's death, by organizing -according to the most plausible interpretation- the murder of the appointed regent and then by promoting one of their number to the throne, disregarding the rights of Theodore's son and successor. The causes of this rift, however, are not easy to discern, despite the fact that we have two sources of major importance, the correspondence of Theodore himself and a history written by a close friend and collaborator of the emperor, George Akropolites. The problem with Theodore's correspondence is that, following the rules of the genre, the author

[23]Pachymeres, who is less well informed than Akropolites but also less prone to deliberate distortion, attributes John III's change of attitude to the intervention of the patriarch Manuel and the taking of an oath by Michael (Pach.I i, 39). Even if these occured, they are unlikely to have determined the emperor's reaction.

avoids specificity and reference to actual events, unless it is as an excuse for rhetorical elaborations on more general philosophical or moral points. Even those references are usually concealed under an impenetrable riddle of nicknames and metaphors. The other source, Akropolites' history, was written after Theodore's death and the author's desire to ingratiate himself with the new regime is obvious. Akropolites' former friend is presented as an unpredictable tyrant, while Akropolites himself is portrayed as a victim. Pachymeres and Gregoras wrote their narratives much later and obviously had no first-hand knowledge of Theodore's policies.

One important factor that affected Theodore's attitude was that he had grown up rather isolated from the high aristocracy of his father's court. While other young aristocrats like Michael Palaiologos were accompanying their fathers in the Balkan campaigns, Theodore does not appear to have taken any part at all in war prior to his accession. Ideologically, he seems to have belonged to a different environment than most of them. He had been a student of the philosopher Nikephoros Blemmydes and he was apparently very receptive to his master's advice, even after his accession[24]. It was for Theodore that Blemmydes wrote the most famous Byzantine "mirror of princes", the "Imperial statue"(βασιλικὸς ἀνδριάς)[25]. By no means a revolutionary text, the "Imperial statue" is a reitaration of the centuries-old theoretical tenets on imperial power and on the virtues that the emperor should strive to possess. It is interesting, however, that after a long series of emperors who had come from the ranks of the aristocracy and ruled with the support of people who had been their peers, a new emperor, born the year of his father's accession and raised as an heir from the beginning, would endorse the proclamations of his schoolmaster and theorist that the ruler alone has been "removed from the ranks of private people", that he is "the Head, or rather the Mind of his subjects", that "he stands above all other men" and that "the Emperor's office is an image

[24]For example in Laskaris Ep., 57ff. he asks for Blemmydes' advice on issues of foreign policy and financing the army. He stresses that it is not because of Blemmydes practical experience (which was non-existant) but because of his theoretical knowledge that his advice was so highly valued.

[25]H.Hunger/Ihor Ševčenko, *Des Nikephoros Blemmydes Βασιλικὸς Ἀνδριάς und dessen Metaphrase von Georgios Galesiotes und Georgios Oinaiotes*, Wien 1986

of God's Power"[26]. If Theodore's list of correspondents is indicative of the people who had access to him and influenced him, then it is worth noticing the complete absence of high aristocrats from it. The young prince's lifestyle appears to have been ascetic, to the point that his father had to order him to eat meat and change his clothes, while his friend, Akropolites, evoked his scientific lore in order to persuade Theodore to bathe and go hunting[27]. This lifestyle conforms both to the idea of Theodore's detachment from the aristocratic milieu and to his concept of kingship as akin to holiness. To these could be added Theodore's intense religiosity[28] and a nervous temperament that towards the end of his life degenerated into crises of epilepsy and we have the background to the collision that occured between the emperor and the aristocracy.

Already before Theodore's accession there were frictions with prominent members of John III's entourage. Letters LXXVII, LXXVIII and LXXX of Theodore reveal through many obscure references his enmity for Theodore Philes. At that time Philes was general commander in Thessalonica, so the events should be placed after 1246-47. Philes used his authority to cause some serious harm to a certain "Tribides", a *protegé* of Theodore's. The prince's anger reached the point where he promised to kill Philes with his own hands upon Philes' return to Asia, unless the emperor intervened. John III did eventually offer to his son some satisfaction by deposing and dishonoring Philes, although Theodore did not abandon his intention for harsher punishment in due time; eventually he had the chance to realize his threat.

Theodore Philes may have fallen in disgrace and been blinded immediately after Theodore II's accession in the fall of 1254. But there was no conflict with the rest of the aristocracy at that time. When the emperor campaigned in Europe that winter, he naturally relied on his father's commanders since he was completely inexperienced himself[29]. The first

[26]Hunger/Ševčenko, *Basilikos Andrias*, 121-122 (tr. by I. Sevcenko)
[27]Laskaris Ep., Nos LIX and LXI. This information appears to me more relevant than Pachymeres' anecdote in which Theodore was chastized by his father for going to the hunt wearing gold (Pach.Ii, 61-63).
[28]Pach.Ii, 59 and note 4 for Theodore's hagiographic and hymnographic works.
[29]Akrop.I, 109-111

phase of the operations under Theodore's supreme command was very successful. But in the spring of 1255 the Byzantine army suffered a shameful defeat, due, as even Akropolites admits, to the blatant incompetence of its generals, Alexios Strategopoulos and Constantine Tornikes. Theodore was furious and writing back to George Mouzalon he raged against the "ἄνομοι Στρατηγόπουλοι" and the "δυσώνυμοι Τορνίκαι"[30]. He continued however to depend on his aristocratic commanders, such as Theodore Nestongos, John Angelos and Alexios Philanthropenos[31]. The campaign against Melnik that Theodore commanded himself during 1255 was, like his first personal campaign, spectacularly successful, something that apparently boosted his confidence in his military skills. As the winter was approaching Theodore undertook a badly planned campaign against Tzepaina in Thrace and had to retreat without serious losses but without having accomplished anything either. Akropolites attributes this failure to Theodore's stubborness in not heeding the advice of his generals and to the incompetence of the new commanders whom he trusted, such as his great-uncle Manuel Laskaris and Constantine Margarites. This was probably the view of the high aristocracy, the class of the highly born experienced military commanders who did not like to be commanded by an emperor without any practical military knowledge and -still less- by incompetent relatives such as Laskaris, or low-born upstarts such as Margarites[32]. The emperor's point of view was different. In a letter to Akropolites Theodore II expounded his belief that the supreme commander who decides the overall strategy and the generals who command the units should have the relation of the whole to the parts, that is, should be in absolute harmony. If the overall strategy is wrong, according to Theodore, then the outcome will be negative no matter what the commanders do. But if the overall strategy is correct, than the obedience of the commanders is crucial to a successful outcome. Generals who do not faithfully obey the wishes of the commander-in-chief, in this case Theodore himself, should

[30]Laskaris Ep., 252-255
[31]Akrop.I, 115-119
[32]Akrop.I, 120-123

be removed[33]. These ideas were typical both of Theodore's autocratic concept of power and of the way in which theoretical precepts influenced his actions as an emperor.

Immediately after the failed campaign Theodore left Manuel Laskaris and Margarites as commanders in Europe and returned to Asia Minor. Around Christmas of 1255, in Lampsakos, he proceeded to a major upheaval of the court. Some major aristocrats, such as Alexios Rhaoul and Constantine Tornikes, were deprived of their office, while the emperor's favorites, including George Mouzalon and his brothers, as well as John Angelos and George Akropolites, were promoted. George Mouzalon had been a page of Theodore's. In his letters Theodore consistently refers to him as his adopted son, while officially George was called the emperor's brother, as Demetrios Tornikes had been under John III[34]. Although the authors emphasize the low origins of George Mouzalon, perhaps it was not so much his promotion that shocked the aristocracy. As we saw individual promotions were not so extraordinary throughout the period under discussion and Mouzalon was already Grand Domestic and had been regent in Asia during the emperor's absence. It was rather the insult that was attached to his assumption of the office of *protosebastos*, at the expense of Alexios Rhaoul, one of the most "noble" of the aristocrats[35], as well as the sudden promotion of his kin to high offices, that were most offensive. Perhaps it was on that occasion that Constantine Strategopoulos and Theodore Philes were blinded for insulting the emperor. Theodore II, however, did not turn against all aristocrats. Michael Palaiologos retained his office of Grand Constable and was left in charge of the Bithynian provinces when the emperor campaigned again in Europe in 1256. Isaac Nestongos became or remained *epi tes trapezes*, while the emperor planned to give to the *pinkernes* George Nestongos his daughter's hand[36]. George Mouzalon was married to Theodora Kantakouzene, a niece of Michael Palaiologos, a sign of favour towards

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[33]Laskaris Ep., 113
[34]Ibid., 214ff., esp. 262:"κατ' υἱοθεσίαν τέκνον, κατ' ἀξίαν ἀδελφέ."
[35]For the nobility of Rhaoul see the discussion of the notion of nobility in ch.IV
[36]Akrop.I, 134, 151; Pach.Ii, 95

that family rather than a disgrace as it is sometimes presented. George's brother was married to the daughter of the disgraced Alexios Rhaoul.

It is tempting to see behind Theodore's policies a long-term project turned against the aristocracy as a class. His writings, however, nowhere express anti-aristocratic sentiments, nor did he ever turn against all aristocrats indiscriminately. The motives of his policies were political rather than social or economical[37]. It was disloyalty and incompetence that Theodore was not tolerating. What gave to his policies such a bad colour was his lack of understanding and sympathy for the aristocrat's sensibilities. From 1256 to his death in 1258 Theodore had to face continuous manifestations of hostility on the part of the aristocracy and in return became highly suspicious of them. In 1256 Michael Palaiologos fled to the Seljuk court, but after the dissolution of the Seljuk state by the Mongols he accepted the emperor's assurances for his security and returned to the empire. Later he fell again under suspicion and was arrested[38]. His sister and niece were accused for sorcery and put to torture[39]. Michael's uncle and namesake, a Grand Chartulary, was imprisoned and so were the sons of Alexios Rhaoul[40]. Isaac Nestongos deserted to the side of Michael II of Epiros and delivered to him the city of Ohrid[41]. On the other hand there was not one open revolt or confirmed conspiracy against the emperor. It is striking how incapable the high aristocrats were of challenging the power of a legitimate emperor. Obviously John III and Theodore II had managed to control effectively the loyalty of the army, perhaps thanks to their military success and to their use of *pronoia* grants.

[37]The idea that Theodore was after the properties that had been granted to the aristocrats cannot be well supported: although the emperor complained in a letter to Blemmydes about the difficulties of paying for his military campaigns and of maintaining a standing army (Laskaris Ep., 57ff.), he left behind a full treasury when he died (Pach.Ii, 97)
[38]Akrop.I, 134-138, 144-145; Pach.Ii, 43-53
[39]Pach.Ii, 53-57
[40]Pach.Ii, 43; Akrop.I, 155
[41]Akrop.I, 151

The aftermath of Theodore II's reign

By contrast, the ease with which the disgraced aristocrats regained power after Theodore's death in 1258 is spectacular. It is surprising that George Mouzalon had been unable to create some sort of support base for his power. Immediately after the emperor's death the important disgraced aristocrats were released from prison, since they were present at the events that followed[42]. We do not know whether they were set free by Theodore himself on the occasion of the oaths of fidelity that were demanded shortly before he died[43], whether their liberation was an attempt at conciliation by Mouzalon or whether they were let free at the initiative of other officials witout the regent's approval. In any case, most important aristocrats, whether they had been imprisoned or not, rushed at Nymphaion so as to be present at the deliberations that would follow.

Akropolites did not have first-hand knowledge of the events of 1258, since he was at the time a captive of the Epirotes. In his history he gives an unrealistically schematic description of the events: such was the hatred that everybody had against the Mouzalones, that, on the occasion of the emperor's memorial service on the ninth day after his death, the people and the wronged aristocrats rushed to the church, broke in and murdered the regent and his brothers[44]. Theodore Skoutariotes amended Akropolites text and placed both the regent and his aristocratic enemies inside the church: when Mouzalon heard the tumult of the attack, the aristocrats, fearing that he might get away and seek the support of the populace, persuaded him by oaths that he was in no danger[45]. Apart from the themes of Mouzalon's popularity and the aristocrats' perjury, Skoutariotes' information is interesting because it clearly implies a plot aimed at trapping the regent. This is essentially also the theory of

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[42]Akrop.I, 155; Pach.Ii, 65

[43]The oath demanded by Theodore II on his deathbed imposed obedience to the terms of the emperor's will concerning his son's succession and Mouzalon's regency. It is mentioned by Akropolites (Akrop.I, 154) and Skoutariotes (Akrop.I, 298), who adds that it was repeated after the emperor's death; Pachymeres ignores it. We are not told who exactly was asked to take the oath but Skoutariotes lets us understand that the group included some of the great aristocrats who subsequently planned the regent's murder. On the oath of loyalty see N.Svoronos, "Le serment de fidélité à l' empereur byzantin et sa signification constitutionelle", *REB* 9(1951), 117-125

[44]Akrop.I, 154-155

[45]Akrop.I, 258

Pachymeres, who wrote almost half a century after the events and who provides the most detailed narrative. Pachymeres gives the impression that the regent did have enough power to prevent any open challenge on the part of his enemies, but was justifiedly afraid of conspiratorial activity[46]. For that reason he convoked, according to Pachymeres, an assembly composed of "the senate and the emperor's kin and the lords and the military [...] and all sorts of other magnates". In front of that gathering he dissociated himself from the tyrranical behavior of Theodore II and stated his readiness to resign the regency in favor of whomever the assembly would elect in his place. Michael Palaiologos answered on the part of the assembly, stating that it was not permitted to set aside the emperor's elect nor to advance a form of collective government; he assured Mouzalon of his loyalty and that of his peers[47].

According to one possible interpretation, Mouzalon was in a very weak position and tried to win the support of some aristocrats by accepting to curb the autocratic premises of the Byzantine political tradition and offer to the aristocracy a share in the government. Michael Palaiologos, by contrast, affirmed his attachment to the monarchical foundation of the system[48]. But the comments of Pachymeres make it clear that this was not the case. The regent's purpose was to fathom the loyalty of those present and Palaiologos' answer was essentially what Mouzalon had been fishing for[49]. The description of the assembly and the two speeches may mirror the author's information about real events, or may be imaginary. In any case, Pachymers' purpose is only to explain how the regent, who did have real power according to Pachymeres, allowed his suspicions to abate and was caught off his guard.

Pachymeres does not openly subscribe to the conspiracy theory: according to his version the riot was a manifestation of the discontent of the Western mercenary troops, who,

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[46]The author makes it clear that the Mouzalones commanded enough power to inspire fear to the magnates and force them to simulate obedience: see the expressions on Pach.Ii, 63 ("οἱ Μουζάλωνες ἐφειστήκεισαν") and 64 ("τῷ πρὸς ἐκείνους τέως φόβῳ συγκατεκλίνοντο")
[47]Pach.Ii, 65-77
[48]This is the way the speeches are presented by Angold, *Nicaea*, 80-81
[49]Pach.Ii, 65:"[Mouzalon], being a wise man, decided to put the army to the test and at the same time discover how the grandees were inclined towards him"; Ibid., 73:"Michael Palaiologos [...] either because he was in truth [Mouzalon's] uncle through his wife and believed that he would partake of his glory as a kinsman, or because he found an opportunity to ingratiate himself by flattery,[...] answered his speech with freedom."

misinterpreting a sign by the young emperor, rushed to the monastery of Sosandra and slaughtered the regent during the memorial service. He does, however, consider that theory plausible: those who instructed the emperor to make an ambiguous sign are viewed with suspicion and the magnates who were inside the church did not worry about the new of the approaching troops "either because they knew in advance what would come to pass, or because they did not care, whatever those gathered might do"[50]. A century after the events, the conspiracy theory was still prominent: Gregoras, who otherwise follows Pachymeres, believed that certain people "prominent in birth and wealth [...] incited the army to rebellion and armed their hands for the massacre of Mouzalon". He even makes the event more spectacular by having the conspirators suddenly unsheathe their swords during the service and attack the regent[51]. Overall, the conspiracy theory seems very plausible: the assassins were very discriminating for a rioting mob entering a church full of notables and the Latin troops spearheading the assault had special ties to Michael Palaiologos, who, as Grand Constable, was in charge of them. Akropolites, who at first presented the riot as spontaneous, stated that the *protovestiarites* Karyanites had organized the murder of the Mouzalones, "since he was then in command of the Roman army", and thus unwittingly(?) admits that there was a plan[52]. On the other hand we cannot be certain as to the real masterminds of the conspiracy. Karyanites, who fell in disgrace under Michael VIII and lost his life, may just be a scapegoat, but no source explicitely inculpates either Michael himself or any other high aristocrats specifically. A conspiracy it may have been, but the information that would allow us to term it a conspiracy of the high aristocracy is missing.

The behavior of the aristocracy after the removal of the regent can perhaps further illuminate the nature of the conflict with the previous regime. Under the regency and then the reign of Michael Palaiologos there were limited purges of Theodore II's officials. Those targeted were the military leaders: apart from the Grand Domestic Andronikos Mouzalon,

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[50]Pach.Ii, 81-89
[51]Greg.I, 64-65
[52]Akrop.I, 159. But Pachymeres, who does not mention this accusation, clearly thinks of Karyanites ("a venerable and very worthy man") as a victim: Pach.Ii, 89-90

who had been murdered together with his brother, there were the cases of the *protovestiarites* Karyanites, who was blamed for the riot, was imprisoned and then allowed to flee to the Turks, and the *protostrator* John Angelos, who was arrested in the West and mysteriously died on his way to Asia. Akropolites also states that many of the lower military officials of Theodore II lost their commands but did not suffer in any spectacular way: "they were little men, not worth talking about; for that reason they were overlooked in contempt"[53]. These may have included individuals whose fate is unknown, but who are very negatively presented by Akropolites, a good indication that they were no longer in power: the Grand Archon Constantine Margarites, the *skouterios* Xyleas, or the commander Manuel Lapardas[54]. By contrast, almost all of the high officials of the civil administration remained in their posts under the new regime, although many had been closely connected to Theodore II. At the head of them was the grand Logothete George Akropolites himself, although he may have owed his survival to the fact that he was away from the court, in captivity, during the bloody events of 1258. Michael Senachereim, who had headed a school founded by Theodore II for the formation of civil servants[55], was promoted to the office of *protasecretis* and even given a noble bride, following the practice that is supposed to have been so hated under the previous emperor[56]. The Logothete of the Flocks Hagiotheodorites, who had been secretary of Theodore II and was married to a sister of George Mouzalon, was promoted to Logothete of the *oikiaka*[57]. The Count of the Imperial Horses Chadenos, who had once been entrusted with the arrest of Michael Palaiologos, was successively promoted to Chief Faulkner, Grand Logariastes and Prefect of the city[58]. The pattern is rather clear: the enmity of the high aristocracy was not indiscriminately directed against Theodore II's entourage of "new men". It was that emperor's policy of military appointments and his reform of the army in general

[53]Akrop.I, 160
[54]Ibid., 123, 139-141, 146-147
[55]Laskaris Ep., 271-276
[56]Pach.Ii, 131,157
[57]Pach.Ii, 77, 155; see also PLP 241
[58]Pach.Ii, 31,47, 51; Patmos I, 283

that had most irritated those who had learned to view the command of the armies as a hereditary privilege and who had benefited greatly from being John III's assistants in the reconquest of Thrace and Macedonia. It is telling that even Akropolites was never allowed to command an army again after his return to the empire and the restoration of his office.

The usurpation of Michael VIII

Within four months of Mouzalon's assassination Michael Palaiologos was assigned the regency, first as Grand Duke, then as Despot, and finally, the 1st of January 1259, he became emperor under the obligation to safeguard the rights of the young John IV. According to Pachymeres, whose account is the most detailed, the selection of Michael Palaiologos for the regency was done by the *en telei*, the dignitaries, and later confirmed by the patriarch Arsenios. Palaiologos was selected on account of his military experience and skill, the nobility of his ancestry and his kinship to the young emperor. The author also makes the supposition that he made various promises, especially to those who had lost their dignities, but he has no specific information. From that point onwards the new regent could promote his designs by using the resources of the imperial treasury. But it is clear that the promotion first to the despotic and then to the imperial dignity was achieved with the active support of certain prominent aristocrats. The families of Alexios Strategopoulos, Theodore Philes and Constantine Tornikes are especially named by Pachymeres[59].

The accession of Michael Palaiologos to the empire is in itself indicative of the aspirations and character of the high aristocracy. Not for a moment did they consider the possibility of placing the imperial power under aristocratic tutelage. The various councils and assemblies that took most of the important decisions never thought of evolving into more permanent, institutionalized bodies. Instead, one individual was invested with absolute, autocratic power. The opposition appears to have been concerned rather with the person and

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[59]Pach.Ii, 107

not with the prerogatives of the new ruler[60]. The high aristocracy manifested what would remain its major trait throughout the period under discussion: its lack of common political aspirations as a class and an intense internal competitiveness. What mattered to most aristocrats was not the establishment of a system where all of their peers would be able to control the imperial power from an equal standing, but securing for their persons and their children the relative advantage of being closer to the emperor than the others. As Pachymeres tells us, Michael Palaiologos' bid for the throne was supported by "those who were close to the Palaiologoi by existing or projected bonds of kinship"[61]. The network of marriages described in Chapter IV, which formed the nucleus of the Palaiologan high aristocracy, reveals exactly the essence of the alliance that brought Michael VIII to the throne at the expense of rival families like the Nestongoi or the Laskareis, who were not admitted into this network of alliances and, as we saw, entered a slow process of decline. The subsequent blinding and deposition of John IV may have been the result of Michael VIII's personal ambition. But it was tolerated by the high aristocracy because in a way it served their own interests, by securing the investment they made in the person of the new emperor against any long-term dangers of dynastic upheaval. For the new kinsmen of the Palaiologoi, it was important that the imperial power should pass to the biological descendants of Michael VIII.

Michael VIII's autocracy and aristocratic challenges

"L' avènement au trône de Michel VIII Paléologue signifiait une victoire de la haute aristocratie byzantine"[62]. This statement of G.Ostrogorskij, summing up a concept of that emperor as a champion of the high aristocracy that is popular among scholars, is not unambiguously supported by what we know about that emperor's policies. Although he ascended the throne thanks to the support of a large group among the high aristocracy,

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[60]George Nestongos, supported by the brothers of Theodore I, had already been defeated in the contest for the regency. Later he tried to promote the idea that Michael should keep the regency but that he himself should marry the daughter of Theodore II and get the title of Despot (Pach.Ii, 107)
[61]Pach.Ii, 107:"ὅσοι κατὰ συγγένειαν ἢ οὖσαν ἢ ἐλπιζομένην τοῖς Παλαιολόγοις προσέκειντο"
[62]Ostrogorskij, *Féodalité*, 92

Michael VIII cannot be said to have ruled according to the class interests of that group, much less to have been a pawn of the aristocracy. The measures taken immediately after his accession included conferring offices and lavishing grants to those high aristocrats who had supported his accession and were, or became, his kinsmen[63]. But as far as long-term initiatives are concerned, the only one that we hear of, the hereditarization of *pronoiai*, concerned mainly the class of the *stratiotai* and the low-ranking military officers. Furthermore, as we saw in Chapter III, this hereditarization was a long-evolving tendency that did not begin or end with Michael VIII's reign. The emperor also promised a judicial reform that would somehow curb the arbitrary right of the emperor to intervene in the administration of justice. Although a judicial reform would naturally have a beneficial effect to all social groups, there is reason to believe that it was mainly intended to please the high aristocracy, who had particularly suffered during the "terror" of Theodore II's rule. According to this project, the highest court, the *sekreton*, whose composition was not predetermined and depended upon the arbitrary decision of the emperor, would become a permanent body of judges, presided upon by the *protasecretis*. Judgement by ordeal, a process whose injustice had been felt by Michael himself, would be prohibited[64]. Although this latter part of the project may well have been realized -we do not hear again of this practice in Byzantium- the independent highest court would not be established until the reign of Andronikos III, as we saw in the first chapter. As a matter of fact, Michael VIII's handling of those who opposed his policies -and these included several prominent aristocrats- was hardly less tyrannical than that of Theodore II.

The major challenges to Michael VIII's policies concerned three aspects: the schism caused by the deposition of the patriarch Arsenios, the union with the Western church proclaimed at Lyons in 1274 and the progressive alienation of the Asiatic provinces from the

[63]Pach.Ii, 137-139
[64]Pach.Ii, 131

government in Constantinople. All three involved members of the high aristocracy, but none developed along class lines.

In 1265 the patriarch Arsenios, who had excommunicated the emperor on account of the treatment of the young John IV, was deposed by a synod under circumstances of dubious legality. A large group of ecclesiastics and laymen refused to recognize Arsenios' successors and formed a schism that would last for decades. The Arsenite schism can naturally be connected to dynastic opposition to the Palaiologoi, as well as to the hostility of the populations of Asia Minor, where the Arsenites had the largest following. But as far as the aristocracy is concerned, it is interesting that the only aristocratic support for that movement came from within the immediate family of the emperor. As Pachymeres informs us, among the leaders of the schism were the emperor's sister Martha Tarchaneiotissa, her daughter Theodosia Valaneidiotissa, her stepdaughter Nostongonissa and her son, John Tarchaneiotes[65]. It is not possible to draw general conclusions from their case, especially since it appears that Martha's two other sons were not supporting the schism. It should perhaps be noted that the three women were nuns and we should take into account the factor of spiritual guidance and the ensuing ties of loyalty. Martha was closely connected to Arsenios and after his death she fell, together with her daughters, under the influence of the monk Hyakinthos, the most prominent Arsenite. Her son, John, was a layman, but that does not exclude a genuine religious motivation on his part; on the other hand, the fact that unlike his brothers he had not been honored with public office may have fueled his resentment. The subsequent apostasy of the Grand Constable Andronikos Tarchaneiotes, Martha's eldest son, was not connected to the Arsenite schism, but was due to his taking offence at the fact that his other brother, Michael, was promoted to the higher-ranking office of Grand Domestic[66]. Overall, it appears that we should follow Pachymeres himself[67] and distinguish the

[65]Pach.Iii, 381-385
[66]Ibid., 385
[67]Pach.Iii, 437:"the schism was becoming great as the Arsenites were increasing more and more, so that it was not only those personally acquainted with the patriarch Arsenios who were forming a schism and fought in his favor, but also those who had not known him at all were following the others"

prominent individuals who began the Arsenite schism out of attachment to the person of Arsenios from those who subsequently followed them because they saw the schism as a manifestation of opposition to the usurpation of Michael VIII. Apart from Martha's family we do not hear of any Arsenites among the high aristocracy, or the aristocracy in general.

The opposition to the plan for union of the Churches, actively promoted by the emperor after the council of Lyons in 1274, found a much wider support among the high aristocracy. Again the emperor's close relatives were the first to manifest dissent, beginning with the preliminary discussions in 1273, when the anti-uniate party was grouped around the emperor's second sister, Eulogia Kantakouzene[68]. There was no connection to the previous schism since, unlike Martha, Eulogia had been hostile to Arsenios and had supported the elimination of the young emperor John IV. Eulogia was joined by her daughter Theodora, the widow of the *protovestiarios* John Rhaoul[69]. The two were exiled by the emperor[70]. By 1279, John Rhaoul's two brothers, Manuel the *pinkernes* and Isaac, as well as the *protostrator* Andronikos Palaiologos, distantly related to the emperor, and the *protostrator*'s cousin John Palaiologos Kantakouzenos, were in jail for their opposition to the union[71]. Only the latter recovered his freedom after submitting to the emperor's will. The *protostrator* died in prison, while the Rhaoul brothers were blinded[72]. The opposition to the union included two prominent members of the aristocracy of civil service, the *mesazon* Theodore Mouzalon and Constantine Akropolites. Their attitude was apparently less outspoken and their treatment was accordingly milder[73]. The union was a decision of political expediency and did not have any warm support in Byzantium, even from those who did not openly

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[68]Pach.Iii, 487

[69]Unlike her mother, Theodora Rhaoulaina was sympathetic to Arsenios, but not schismatic, as we can tell from her correspondence with the patriarch Gregory of Cyprus. After 1285 Arsenios' body was transported to her monastic foundation of St Andrew *en krisei*, where Gregory was also buried later (Pach.II 85-86, 152). It appears that the two schismatic movements were later connected, since Andronikos II used both Theodora and Isaac Rhaoul, the anti-uniate leaders, as a means to approach the Arsenites in 1294 (Pach.II, 207)

[70]Pach.II., 15

[71]Pach.Iii, 581

[72]Ibid., 611-613

[73]Ibid., 625. Akropolites simply fell in disgrace, while Mouzalon, who refused to lead an embassy to Rome, was beaten with a rod and deposed.

oppose the emperor's will. Except for the patriarch John Bekkos and some ecclesiastics and church officials connected with the handling of the union procedures, such as George Metochites, the reversal by Andronikos II of his father's policies immediately after the latter's death was welcomed without any protest.

As in the case of the Arsenite aristocrats, it is not possible to discern any motive other than religious conviction behind the anti-uniate dissenters. It is interesting, though, that in both cases the leaders of the dissenters were members of the families of each one of Michael VIII's sisters. Martha's family in the first case, Eulogia, Theodora and Theodora's brothers-in-law in the second case. It might be possible to consider frustration at the race for distinction and grants as a possible factor, but there is no indication that the two families of lateral relatives had reason to feel overlooked. Manuel Rhaoul, for example, and Andronikos Palaiologos held high-ranking offices and cannot be considered as disregarded. It could be possible to connect the dissent of Eulogia's family with the events in Bulgaria, where the tsarina Maria, another daughter of Eulogia, and her young son lost the throne, in part because of Michael VIII's support for his own son-in-law, John Asan. Those events, however, took place around 1276-79 and thus are posterior to the formation of the anti-uniate movement. Indeed, Pachymeres affirms that under Maria the Bulgarian court was a refuge for dissenter monks[74]. Before marrying the Bulgarian tsar Constantine Tich, Maria had been the wife of the Grand Domestic Alexios Philes. Already on the occasion of Alexios' death on campaign in the Morea in 1263, she and Eulogia had been involved into court politics by demanding the removal of Alexios's colleague, the *parakoimomenos* John Makrenos, whom they accused of pro-Lacarid plotting. On that occasion the emperor accepted their claims and had Makrenos, a captive of the Franks at the time, ransomed and blinded[75]. This incident is cited here only in order to demonstrate how obscure the patterns of alignments and antagonisms within the

[74]The events are described in Pach.Iii, 545-559, 561-569
[75]Pach.Ii, 275-277

court were and how difficult it is to discern a more general pattern and attribute a particular causality to the various groupings around a cause.

One of the major issues that caused a lot of resentment among several of Michael VIII's subjects was the inadequacy of defensive measures against the mounting attacks of the Turcomans in Asia Minor, due to a combination of negligence and practical inability on the part of the Constantinopolitan government. It appears that already before 1261 the energy and resources invested in the reconquest of Europe were not enthousiastically approved by part of the inhabitants of Asia Minor who had not much to gain from such enterprises. This cool disposition towards the prospect of imperial restoration and the ensuing costs found expression in the exclamation of disappointment attributed by Pachymeres to the *protasecretis* Michael Senachereim: upon hearing of the capture of Constantinople in 1261, Senachereim stated that "from now on, nobody should hope for anything good, since the Romans have set foot in the City anew"[76]. It is more than likely that the group that expected to profit more from the reconquest was the high aristocracy of the emperor's relatives, generals and close collaborators, that is, those who would receive the lion's share from the imperial grants of the newly conquered territories. On the other hand it is not correct to strictly identify the policy of reconquest as "pro-aristocratic". Theodore II, for example, who was rather emancipated from the tutelage of the high aristocracy, pursued energetically the policy of conquest initiated by his father, John III. At any rate, to whatever frustration already existed in Asia Minor at the time of Palaiologos' usurpation was added the outrage at the treacherous mistreatment of the lawful emperor. Unlike the newly conquered European populations, who had been accustomed to frequent changes of overlord and for whom the Nicene emperors were perhaps only the latest in a series of conquerors, the inhabitants of Asia Minor had been accustomed to a dynastic continuity of half a century. The Lascarids were associated for many with the maintenance of their freedom and with their material welfare, as is evident from the growth of a cult of "saint" John III and the birth of a

[76]Pach.Ii, 205

hagiographic tradition around that emperor[77]. Thus the blinding of John IV was soon followed by a massive revolt of the inhabitants of the mountainous regions south-east of Nicaea, while the Arsenite schism was particularly popular among the monasteries of Asia Minor and forced the patriarch Joseph to undertake a tour of the area[78]. Pachymeres makes a point about the fact that Michael VIII's negligence towards Asia Minor was in part the deliberate result of his mistrust of the locals. The emperor himself is said to have aknowledged that much in a conversation reported to Pachymeres by the patriarch of Alexandria, therefore probably genuine. Of course Michael denied that he deliberately sought the ruin of the province and blamed his commanders for misrepresenting to him the seriousness of the situation[79]. It is remarkable that within this general context we do not hear of any aristocratic group particularly connected with Asia Minor and opposing the emperor's policies. Michael VIII must have been unpopular with the local aristocracy of the cities of Asia Minor: ca. 1280 Leo Kaloeidas, an official of the empress's treasury, was condemned for possession of a pamphlet attacking the emperor's tyrrany[80]. This person, known to us also from the chartulary of the monastery of Lembos, was certainly connected to the well-known low-aristocratic family of the Smyrna area[81]. Of course this isolated case is not sufficient to allow us to talk about an organized opposition to Michael VIII on the part of this group.

There are two cases where Michael VIII felt threatened by the activity of his aristocratic commanders in Asia Minor. The most notable concerns John Doukas [Angelos], a son of Michael II of Epiros who had grown up in the imperial court. His succesful military leadership against the Turks in Bithynia gained him a large popularity that annoyed the emperor. Officially, John was accused of speaking with contempt about the emperor's son,

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[77]See Heisenberg, *Life of John III*; also D.Polemis, "Remains of an Acoluthia for the Emperor John Doukas Batatzes"in C.Mango/O.Pritsak(edd.), *Okeanos. Essays Presented to Ihor Sevcenko on his Sixtieth Birthday*, Cambridge. Ma., 1984, 542-547

[78]Pach.Ii, 259ff; Iii, 437

[79]Pach.Ii, 291-293; Iii, 405-407, 633-635

[80]Pach.Iii, 621

[81]For Kaloeidas, an *antidoux ton despoinikon ktematon*, see MM IV, 279; for his family see Ahrweiler, "L' histoire et la géographie de la région de Smyrne", 157-158

the porphyrogennetos Constantine. In 1280 the succesful commander was recalled from Nicaea and was blinded together with his cousin, the *parakoimonenos* of the Seal Sphrantzes. At the same time the emperor recalled and placed under arrest Michael Strategopoulos, commander at Heracleia on the Black Sea, under a similar accusation of aspiring to the empire. It was only the persistent intervention of Strategopoulos' cousin, the empress, that saved him from a sort similar to that of John Doukas. In both cases certain close collaborators of the two generals were severely punished[82]. Strategopoulos' connections with Asia Minor are not known, but in the case of John Doukas and Sphrantzes we know for certain that they were natives of Western Greece. It is obvious, however, that a succesful general could command the loyalty of the local armies, mostly composed of *stratiotai* who were in profound anxiety for their homelands and properties. If the accusation concerning the porphyrogennetos was true, it shows that ambitious commanders could reinforce this loyalty by contrasting their success to the indifference or incapability of the imperial family (these events had been shortly preceded by an ambitious but failed campaign of the junior emperor Andronikos II in the Maeander valley). It is not by chance that immediately after that Michael VIII undertook in person, for the first time in his reign, a defensive campaign in the area of the Sangarios, that is, the same front that the two commanders had been active in.

The policies of Michael VIII did not in any way antagonize the social or economic interests of the aristocracy. Yet, the tyrranical character of his government gradually isolated the emperor from the group that had enthusiastically supported his usurpation in 1258-61. Towards the end of his life the people that he could trust were reduced to a few. It is telling that in the final years of his reign he felt twice that he had to take the field in person, for the first time after his accession, although his health was problematic[83]. The other major campaigns of that period were entrusted to his two sons and his son-in-law, the despot

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[82]Pach.Iii, 613-617, 621-623
[83]In the Sangarios campaign of 1281 and the uncompleted campaign against John of Thessaly in 1282. See Pach.Iii, 633ff. and 659ff.

Michael[84]. This isolation was largely the result of the emperor's intolerance and suspiciousness, rather than of his particular policies[85]. It is not unlikely that his insecurity was justified. The particular circumstances of his accession, the necessities of international politics and occasional adversities in particular fronts (like Bulgaria or Asia Minor) exposed the emperor to criticism and created a widespread hostility among groups of particular importance: the "opinion-makers", that is, the clergy and the monastic circles, but also part of the army, especially those whose origins and fortunes lay in Asia Minor. The inability of many high aristocrats to show understanding for the emperor's *raison d' Etat* may reveal firm beliefs and principles, but it may also betray a deliberate attempt on their part to capitalize on this hostility. Although Pachymeres, who had little sympathy for Michael's policies, is clearly sympathetic towards the victims of his purges and presents his reactions as excessive and irrational, I would tend to consider the emperor's particular severity and harshness in dealing with aristocratic dissidents as a sign that he really believed in the guilt of their intentions. His beliefs may not have been unfounded: in the case of the two commanders in Asia Minor, for example, we know that after Michael's death Michael Strategopoulos was found guilty of plotting against Andronikos II, while the despot Michael was building up a dangerous personal following in Asia Minor, just as his brother John Doukas had been accused of doing in 1280[86]. In any case, Michael VIII's ruthless repression succeeded in its major aim: to deprive the large group that opposed his policies of any prominent individuals who might have been eager to assume its leadership and energize it against the emperor. In spite of all the tough choices that Michael VIII had to make and the even tougher ways in which he promoted them, he did not encounter any open challenge to his rule until his death in 1282.

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[84]Andronikos II campaigned in the Maeander area in 1280 and the porphyrogennetos Constantine against Bulgaria in the same year. Michael Angelos led the army that defeated the Angevine invaders in Berat in 1281. See Pach.Iii, 593ff., 599, 645.
[85]Apart from the cases cited above, see Pach.Iii, 617-621, for the emperor's suspiciousness, his strict laws against possession of pamphlets and his anger at the divinatory practices of his enemies.
[86]Pach.II, 160-161, 396

The early reign of Andronikos II

At the moment of his accession as sole ruler, Andronikos II was better positioned than his father had been in order to achieve a consensus around his authority. He was not tainted with the perjury and injustice that had marked Michael's usurpation of power, neither had he been involved in the deposition of Arsenios. Although the schism officially ended only in 1310, it had by then already lost much of its vigor and internal divisions had weakened it further. The new situation that had been created after the Sicilian Vespers and the victory at Berat allowed Andronikos to repudiate the Union of the Churches immediately after his father's death. Less vulnerable to internal opposition than Michael VIII, Andronikos adopted a less autocratic style of government that reflects perhaps his personal character and beliefs as well. It is indicative that he refrained from inflicting corporal punishment even upon those who were guilty of treason. Only one case, the blinding of Alexios Philanthropenos, is reported to have taken place under that reign and this was done at the initiative of a subordinate official.

Another characteristic of Andronikos II's style of rulership was that he allowed the imperial council a prominent role in decision-making. As we saw earlier, the composition of the imperial council was not strictly pre-determined, but there was some connection between holding a high-ranking office and participaton in the council. The role of the council was normally simply advisory, but in some cases we get the impression that the council actually took the decisions. For example in the early part of the reign, when the most pressing problem was a shortage of money, Andronikos allowed the council to take the crucial and potentially unpopular decision to demand a tenth of the income from all those who held imperial grants [87]. The purpose of the special imposition was to finance the 1283 campaign against Thessaly, which shows the support that existed among the high aristocracy for

[87]Pach.II, 69. The term used is *pronoia*, a word that has a rather general sense in Pachymeres. On that event see A.Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins. The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282-1328*, Cambridge, Ma., 1972 (hereafter Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*), 38-39

continuing the expansion in Europe, even at a time when the disastrous situation in Asia Minor could no longer be concealed. On the other hand, the decision for the dissolution of the fleet, which was taken soon afterwards, was attributed to the emperor himself, on the instigation of *some* members of the council[88]. The maintenance of a costly fleet, necessary as it was, was certainly more important for the pursuit of the reconquest campaigns in Thessaly, southern Greece and Epiros, while the liquidation of the fleet would have appeared positive only to those who wanted to direct the empire's resources towards the defense of Asia Minor. One wonders whether there were not two parties within the aristocracy, one prone to support costly campaigns in Europe and one more inclined towards protecting Asia Minor. If that was the case, it would appear that the policies of the emperor after the first years of his reign were mostly influenced by this second group and may have delayed the process of collapse for more than one decade. The emperor himself resided in Asia with most of his court around 1290-93 and probably earlier as well[89]. On the other hand, a failed campaign against Epiros in 1292 is only known through the "Chronicle of the Morea" and is not mentioned in Byzantine sources[90]. This might indicate that the only Western expedition of the period was a very modest undertaking, that the Chronicle may have wished to exaggerate in order to stress the importance of that defeat of the Byzantines. It has been suggested that the rise of new collaborators, such as Theodore Metochites, who demonstrated a lively interest in Asia Minor, may be connected with this shift of policy[91].

During the period of the emperor's residence in Asia Minor a major affair broke out, concerning an alleged conspiracy headed by the emperor's brother, the porphyrogennetos Constantine[92]. Staging a *coup de théâtre*, Andronikos summoned Constantine and his

88Pach.II, 70-71

89Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 76ff. There must have been also an earlier prolonged period of imperial residence in Asia, as implied from several letters written by Gregory of Cyprus during his patriarchate.

90On this campaign see Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 40-41

91Laiou, *op.cit.*, 77-79

92Pach.II, 160-165; Greg.I, 186-191. In my reconstruction of the incident I follow Pachymeres rather than the much later Gregoras. Gregoras' main difference is that he wholeheartedly accepts Constantine's innocence. I think that he also tends to misrepresent Michael VIII's intentions for his second son: although he lavished

alleged accomplice, the *protostrator* Michael Strategopoulos to appear before him in Nymphaion and then, in front of the assembled court (περὶ πλήθουσαν ἀγοράν), he produced witnesses testifying that the emperor's brother had been plotting to seize the throne. Pachymeres prefers to keep a neutral position on the issue of the accuracy of those accusations. He only concedes that the accusations "appeared plausible to those who heard them". Constantine, who had been endowed by his father with an enormous income, was probably the wealthiest person in the empire after the emperor. He was even employing his wealth in an "imperial" way, making rich gifts both to lay magnates and to ecclesiastics. He was one of the first aristocrats to built his own fortified tower in Nymphaion, but we do not know whether this had been done with imperial approval or not[93]. Constantine was said to have been his father's favorite son, but Michael VIII, a strong supporter of centralized autocracy, had deliberately avoided to confer upon his son the quasi-imperial title of Despot and had even prohibited him from wearing the imperial purple after his coming of age[94]. This ambiguous position of Constantine, who was by birth the first among the notables but had no official court rank was a cause of serious resentment to him: it was his audacious reaction to an incident in 1292 involving his wife's order of precedence that placed him in disgrace[95]. The result of this situation was that the accusation of high treason appeared plausible to contemporaries and should probably be taken seriously by us as well. Constantine and Strategopoulos were placed under arrest and were never released until their deaths. Shortly after the emperor's return to Constantinople, in March1294, the emperor convoked an assembly of lay magnates and clergymen that confirmed the condemnation of both[96].

The interpretation of the porphyrogennetos affair depends largely upon whether one accepts his guilt or not. After Constantine's fall his enormous fortune was confiscated and

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upon him a generous allowance, Michael's behaviour does not allow the supposition that he intended to divide the empire or change the order of succession, but rather the contrary: see the next two notes.
93Pach.II, 226
94Pach.Iii, 631. Despite the fact that Michael's brother, the Despot John, resigned his title explicitely in order to allow for its attribution to the emperor's sons, Michael did not give the title of Despot either to Constantine or to Theodore, his third son. Gregoras' differing information will be discussed below.
95Pach.II, 154-157
96Ibid., 188

that may well have been a motive for Andronikos II in this time of serious shortages. On the other hand, Constantine's generosity was used as a means of forming a personal following, perhaps including those who were unsatisfied with the emperor's grants. Could it be that the end of the empire's expansion had already begun to make it more difficult for the emperor to accommodate the demands of the aristocracy and that Constantine tried to use his personal fortune to capitalize on that frustration? One is tempted to see some kind of "feudal-type" bargain here and interpret those grants of the porphyrogennetos as creating a sort of obligation on the part of those who accepted them[97]. It is clear however that this did not assume the form of a formal contract: after the conspiracy had been revealed Andronikos II initiated an investigation concerning those magnates who had received gifts from the porphyrogennetos. The conclusion was that they had not behaved in a compromising way and they were proclaimed innocent. Their treatment would have certainly been very different if, let's say, they had ever given an oath or other official assurance of loyalty to Constantine. It is interesting that the treatment of the clerics who had received gifts was different. They were accused of treason and their sources of income confiscated. Pachymeres implies that this was an injustice commited by the emperor's investigator, the monk Sabas. It is possible that the initiative came from a higher source, as the imperial government was eager to grasp the opportunity to reclaim for the treasury sources of income that had been granted out. Unlike the lay magnates, the ecclesiastics were an easy target, especially since the patriarch Athanasios, all while protesting their innocence, refused to come to their defense[98].

The Asia Minor factor

The affair of Constantine the porphyrogennetos may be an indication of the tensions that began appearing after the expansion of the empire came to a halt. Soon afterwards,

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[97]The exact status of those lay recipients of gifts is not very clear. Pachymeres calls them "οἱ τοῦ παλατίου" and "μεγιστᾶνες". The latter term as used by the author does not exclude high ranking aristocrats. It is only Gregoras who gives a military dimension, by stating that the accusations concerned bribes given to "dignitaries and the others who were prominent in the army (*stratos*)"(Greg.I, 186).
[98]Ibid., 162-164

however, a much more important external evolution placed new strains upon the empire's resources. The Asiatic campaigns of the last years of Michael VIII's reign were not marked by any major battles and the Turkish advance continued, marked by events such as the fall of Tralleis (1284). But in general it appears that during the first decade of Andronikos II's reign there was some relative stability in the area north of the Maiander. Gregoras attributes it to the great military success of the porphyrogennetos and Michael Strategopoulos, but Pachymeres is silent on that point and we may suspect that Gregoras is applying to them a general pattern modeled after Alexios Philanthropenos[99]. In any case, after the emperor's departure from Asia Minor the situation started deteriorating rapidly, leading the local populations to despair and making them eager to support anyone who would appear to offer them some hope. This was demonstrated by the appeal of the Messianic leadership of pseudo-Lachanas in 1294 among the peasantry of Bithynia[100]. The next year the resentment of the locals gave rise to a much more serious threat, the revolt of the *pinkernes* Alexios Philanthropenos.

The events of that revolt are well known: Philanthropenos, who was assigned the command of the Maeander area, was spectacularly succesful against the Turks. At the instigation of his entourage he rebelled and his army wholeheartedly supported him. Around Christmas 1296, though, he was betrayed by his Cretan troops and handed over to the loyalist Duke of the Neokastra theme, Libadarios, who had him blinded. Deprived of its leadership, the rebellion ended without further incidents[101].

The reasons for the popularity of Philanthropenos are easy to discern. His successes made him appear as the person who could effectively protect the unhappy province and at the same time provided him with ample financial means acquired from the enemy in the form of booty[102]. The *stratiotai* were extremely opposed to the emperor and his aristocratic

[99]Greg.I, 195
[100]Pach.II, 188-192; see Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 79-80
[101]See Laiou, *op.cit.*, 80-84. Libadarios, however, should not be identified with the father-in-law of Theodore Palaiologos, who was *pinkernes* in 1294, while this Libadarios was only *protovestiarites*.
[102]Pach.II, 212. Planuudes Ep., 97 provides us with the example of Alexios' benefactions to a group of soldiers, the Achyraitai. They had been settled in the area by Alexios' father, an element that might have contributed to the *pinkernes'* popularity. See also pp.99, 129, 168 on the booty captured by Philanthropenos.

entourage, thinking that the latter were enjoying the benefits of the soldiers' labour, while the soldiers were not allowed to benefit even from what had been assigned for their maintenance[103]. Alexios Philanthropenos, by accepting their point of view was somehow setting himself apart from the class to which he himself belonged, the high aristocracy and the imperial relatives[104]. The large monasteries of the area also lent him their enthusiastic support, discontinued the emperor's commemoration and put their wealth at the rebel's disposal. That support may be connected to the Arsenite sympathies of Philanthropenos' family (his uncle and aunts were among the leaders of the schism), Pachymeres, however, does not mention that Alexios' supporters were Arsenite and even if that factor did play a role, it must be considered secondary by comparison to the more deeply rooted disappointment of the Asia Minor populations at the inability of the Palaiologoi to defend their homeland.

The revolt of Alexios Philanthropenos did not have any appeal among the great aristocracy. The rebel's relatives probably did not have any prior knowledge of the rebellion, since they did not take care to distance themselves from the imperial court in Constantinople. They included his brother, the *protosebastos* Tarchaneiotes, and his father-in-law, the Grand Logothete Constantine Akropolites[105]. Both were allowed to retain their posts. We do not know the names of Philanthropenos' lay accomplices, with the exception of Malakes, the *prokathemenos* of Smyrna, or perhaps a simple commander[106]. His family and social background is unknown. His other followers included the monk Melchisedek Akropolites, brother of the Grand Logothete, and the metropolitan Theodoulos of Smyrna, the only prelate who openly supported the rebellion[107]. Philanthropenos' great admirer and correspondent, Maximos Planudes, was not openly implicated in the apostasy. It is not possible to have a

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Cf. A.Laiou, "Some Observations on Alexios Philanthropenos and Maximos Planoudes", *BMGS* 4(1978) 89-99

[103]Ibid., 215

[104]Philanthropenos deliberately fueled the wrath of the *stratiotai* against the great aristocracy by presenting his peers as slanderous: Pach.II, 216-217

[105]Pach.II, 230; Akrop.Ep., letters 48 and 55 (pp.143-151)

[106]Pach.II, 299

[107]Pach.II, 214, 299

complete image of the social groups that supported the revolt of the *pinkernes*. It is interesting, however, that this is the first of all the challenges to imperial power that took -in terms of rhetoric at least- an anti-aristocratic ideological tone, even though its leader was a member of the high aristocracy himself. Still, it is more likely that the anger of the rebellious soldiers was more particularly directed against a specific subgroup within the high aristocracy, perhaps even individuals, rather than that class as a whole. There were no incidents of anti-aristocratic violence and Philanthropenos himself was later restored into favor and readmitted to the high aristocracy, while all the sources feel free to give a positive depiction of him. This would not have been possible had Philanthropenos led a movement with an overtly anti-aristocratic social character.

The opposition of the soldiers in Asia Minor to Andronikos' aristocratic commanders must have been a serious problem for the emperor, if we judge from the fact that he appointed his cousin, the Arsenite leader John Tarchaneiotes, a religious fanatic with minimal experience (most of his adult years had been spent in prison or in exile) as commander in Asia Minor with extended powers, including a mandate to perform an *exisosis*[108]. The *exisosis* had become necessary since the frequent changes in command and the political upheavals in Asia Minor had resulted in a situation where many *stratiotai* had lost large parts of their income-producing grants, whereas others had become unusually rich by persuading the local commanders to increase their *oikonomiai*. It is probable that the repression of Philanthropenos' rebellion had given rise to several abuses of this kind at the expense of soldiers who had been sympathetic to his movement. In face of the external danger facing Asia Minor, however, the emperor attempted to redress the injustice. It is indicative of the situation that the only person whom the dissatisfied soldiers could trust to perform the *exisosis* was a long-time leader of the opposition and uncle of Alexios Philanthropenos. Tarchaneiotes, not surprisingly, was unable to form a consensus: even individuals who had

[108]Pach.II, 258-262; Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 88-89. But the wronged *stratiotai* appear to have been pronoia-holders, like their opponents, rather than small landowners. See Bartusis, *Late Byzantine Army*, 75

enthusiastically supported his nephew, such as Maximos Planoudes, now were vehemently opposed to him[109]. The pronoia-holders hurt by his *exisosis* allied themselves to the anti-Arsenite Church, in the person of the metropolitan of Philadelpheia, and began a campaign of slander accusing Tarchaneiotes of inciting rebellion. Rather than exposing himself to such accusations, Tarchaneiotes preferred to lay down his command and return to the emperor. Already Andronikos II had moved with his court to Thessalonica (1298-1300), preoccupied with the problem of halting the Serbian advances in Macedonia and promoting the plans for integrating Epiros and Thessaly in the empire. Subsequently all serious interventions in Asia Minor would rely on mercenary armies and not on the local *stratiotai* who were abandoned to their fate.

In 1302 Michael IX was obliged to withdraw from central Asia Minor with his army of Alan merceneries. Immediately after his departure the countryside was overrun by the Turkish emirs and the Byzantine presence was restricted to the fortified cities that were soon besieged. Almost simultaneously the defeat of the forces defending Bithynia at Bapheus opened the way for Osman's conquest of the northeastern parts. The dispossessed *stratiotai* and gentry of Asia Minor now became a discontented and potentially dangerous force in Europe itself, where they sought refuge[110]. The most vivid illustration of this potential danger was the incident that brought the downfall of the Despot Michael [Angelos], the emperor's brother-in-law.

The two sons-in-law of Michael VIII, the Despots John Asan and Michael [Angelos], were probably the most important aristocrats after the sons and brothers of the emperor. They had both been assisting Michael IX in his struggles in Asia Minor, until the death of John Asan ca. 1302. The accusation brought against the Despot Michael in 1304 was that while in Constantinople he had admitted into his service about a hundred of the dispossessed *stratiotai* from Asia Minor, asking them secretly for an oath of allegiance. The

[109]Planoudes. Ep., 11-12. For the question of the identity of the bad general, see below, the discussion on Kassianos with the relevant footnote.
[110]Pach.II, 389:"αἱ μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαϊκαὶ δυνάμεις (...) προνοίας ἀπολωλεκότες ἀνατολὴν φεύγοντες ἐπὶ δύσεως ὥρμων, περιποιούμενοι ἑαυτοῖς μόνον τὸ ζῆν"

oath, modeled on the Western feudal pattern, provided that the soldiers would be friends of the Despot's friends and enemies of his enemies, a clause that according to Pachymeres only the emperor had the right to demand[111]. The difference from the Byzantine oath of loyalty was that there was a counter-oath on the part of the Despot: "he gave to them similar oaths in return"[112]. The precise content of Michael's oath is not given, but it obviously had to do with providing for their means of sustenance. At first glance, the situation appears clear: a great lord, profiting from the destitution of the Asiatic soldiers, attempted to build a personal following based on a feudal pattern, but this attempt to introduce alien *mores* in the empire (alien only insofar as individuals other than the emperor were concerned) was not tolerated by the emperor.

But the reality was probably more complicated. In 1302, we are told that Michael IX had to retreat from the front in Asia Minor because "his uncle [the Despot John] Asan had died, his other uncle the Despot Michael fell sick and had to return to his home, and all he (Michael IX) was left with were the Alans"[113]. This passage clearly implies that the two Despots were leading forces that were not directly subject to Michael IX's command, since his uncles' absence deprived him of those soldiers as well. The passage where the affair of the oath is first mentioned is also indicative of something similar and will be cited in its entirety: "The Roman army, as it has been said, was weakened, dispersed in the Western parts and disregarded and for that reason it was seeking employment and sustenance. Because of that Michael the Despot was accused and fell in misfortune. For when the emperor urged him to go to Nicaea as a commander with the people that were under him (τῷ ὑπ' αὐτὸν λαῷ), he wrote many times convoking *his own* (μετεκαλεῖτο τὸν ἴδιον), but they were negligent. For that reason, he thought that he would use those of the emperor as his servants, since they had already ceased fighting because of their need. He sent and had them

[111] A preserved Byzantine formula of the oath of allegiance to the Emperor does include this sentence: see Sathas, *MB* 6, 652-653

[112] Pach.II, 396, esp. 408

[113] Pach.II, 315: "ὁ τούτου τε θεῖος ὁ 'Ασὰν ἐτεθνήκει, ὁ δ' ἕτερος θεῖος αὐτοῦ Μιχαὴλ ὁ δεσπότης νόσῳ περιπεσὼν ἀνεχώρει καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς τὰ οἴκοι, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἦν ἐν τοῖς 'Αλανοῖς"

gathered, but without the emperor knowing, and asked oaths from them (they were about a hundred), received the oaths in secrecy and gave also oaths to them in part"[114]. The conclusion from these passages is probably that the two Despots had their own personal armed following and were under the obligation to go with it to battle when summoned by the emperor, more or less like Western feudal lords. Such a pattern of feudal armies is otherwise unattested in Byzantium. A way to interpret our source differently would be to consider Michael as a *kephale*, or military governor of an area, and his *laos* as the local army, which he had been assigned to lead. This interpretation however does not explain why Michael IX could not order the armies of the Despots to remain with him after their departure, neither does it fit well with the description of their summoning by the Despot Michael: the imperial *stratiotai* of the *allagion* of an area were organized rather independently from the *kephale*. It is probable that the *kephalai* played some role in summoning the soldiers of a particular area at the orders of the emperor but they would not normally lead them in battle separately[115]. It is therefore conceivable that the Despot Michael had already been allowed to have a personal army, under the condition that he would put it in the emperor's service when summoned in time of war. The Despot's crime was not that he had wished to bind people to him by oaths of allegiance, but that he had demanded them from imperial *stratiotai*, soldiers that were already bound to serve only the emperor. At a theoretical level, the existence of "feudal" armies in this period would make sense: it is reasonable to accept that imperial grants of extensive resources, especially the very generous grants to the emperor's close relatives, such as the Despots, were not mere signs of favor, but were connected to an obligation of service together with an armed force of unknown size, in the same way that *pronoia*- grants to the *stratiotai* were connected to an obligation of personal service. The fact that no such obligation

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[114]Pach.II, 395-396:"τὸ γὰρ Ῥωμαϊκόν, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐξησθενηκὸς καὶ κατὰ δύσιν διασπαρὲν παρεώρατο, ζητοῦν τοὐντεῦθεν ὅπου δουλεύσειε καὶ τραφήσαιτο. παρ᾽ ἣν αἰτίαν καὶ Μιχαὴλ ὁ δεσπότης αἰτίαις ὑποβληθεὶς κεκινδύνευκεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἤπειγε τοῦτον εἰς Νίκαιαν συνάμα τῷ ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν λαῷ στρατηγήσοντα, ἐκεῖνος δὲ πολλάκις γράψας μετεκαλεῖτο τὸν ἴδιον, κἀκεῖνοι κατερραθύμουν, διὰ ταῦτα ἔδοξε χρῆσθαι τοῖς βασιλέως ὡς ὑπηρέταις, ἤδη ἀπολέμοις ἐκ τῆς ἀνάγκης γεγενημένοις, καὶ πέμψας συνῆγε, πλὴν οὔτε βασιλέως εἰδότος, καὶ ὅρκους ἀπαιτῶν ἐκείνους ὡς περὶ ἑκατὸν ὄντας, καὶ κρυφηδὸν λαμβάνων καὶ μέρει διδοὺς πρὸς ἐκείνους"

[115]Bartusis, *Late Byzantine Army*, 193-196; 236ff.

is mentioned in surviving documents should not deter us, since the obligation of the *stratiotai* is also never exposed in detail. It is rather the complete absence of any reference to feudal armies in other sources that should make us cautious. Furthermore, the existence of such personal armies would render the vulnerability of the high aristocrats to the emperor's arbitrariness, already demonstrated in the cases discussed here, more difficult to explain. Perhaps we have really to do with an armed entourage, limited in numbers, such as important military officials had always enjoyed in Byzantium. After all, it should be noted that the soldiers enrolled in the Despot Michael's service were only "about a hundred", a number too large perhaps for a personal guard (these were probably heavily armed mounted soldiers), but not sufficient for a military challenge to the power of the emperor. Still, the passage of Pachymeres is not sufficiently explained that way and we may have to admit that the situation with the armies of John Asan and Michael [Angelos] was atypical and exceptional.

Apart from these *stratiotai*, there were several expatriate low-ranking military officials from Asia Minor who were assigned to serve in various posts in the European cities of the empire. They were not indifferent to the ongoing ordeal of their homeland (many of the major Asiatic cities did not succumb until later) and some of them were ready to lend their support to anyone who would offer the promise of a more effective assistance than Andronikos II was able to offer. An example of this attitude was the attempt of certain officials to lend their support to Charles de Valois, husband of the titulary Latin empress Catherine de Courtenay, who, in the years 1305-1310, was leading an international alliance aimed at a military attack on the empire on the model of the fourth crusade. The attitude of the Byzantine officials is revealed through the letters, preserved in Greek and Latin versions, of John Monomachos, a commander (*capitaneus*) of the guard of Thessalonica, and Constantine Doukas Limpidares[116]. Both originated from Asia Minor: Monomachos was "de parte Orientis

[116]On the designs of Charles de Valois, see Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 200-242; for the Byzantine conspirators in particular, ibid., 212-220. The Latin letters are published in Laiou, *op.cit.*, 342-343 and the Greek texts in H.Constantinides-Bibicou, "Documents concernant l' histoire byzantine déposés aux Archives nationales de France", *Mélanges Octave et Melpo Merlier*, Athènes 1951, 1-14. Each of the two conspirators sent a letter to Charles and one to Catherine, following the same formulae in each case, which shows that they both drafted their letters together, probably under the direction of the pretender's

Romanie" and Limpidares had been sent "from the castles of the East" to ask for the emperor's assistance. Both complain about Andronikos II's inability to defend their homeland: "propter inhertiam istius innaturalis domini", "διὰ τὴν κακήν του βουλήν". The plot involved several other individuals, including the exiled former metropolitan of Adrianople[117], while the two officials stated that they managed to convert many other important people ("maiores", "τῶν μεγιστάνων") to their cause. The precise social status of the two authors of the letters is not clear. Monomachos was *capitaneus [...]fortilicie [Thesalonicensis]*. This does not necessarily mean that he was head of the city's guard, but perhaps he was a subordinate officer. Determining his status would largely depend on whether or not one accepts the identification with a homonym known from the correspondence of Manuel Gabalas and Michael Gabras[118]. That Monomachos, a native of Philadelpheia who was ruined by the Turkish advance, was certainly not a first-rank aristocrat. He appears to have been a low-ranking military official, whose rank had not much changed as late as 1324, when he was in the entourage of Alexios Philanthropenos during his second command in Philadelpheia. On the other hand, the identification of Limpidaris to Libadarios, the captor of Philanthropenos in 1295, does not seem plausible to me[119]. I would think that he also came from the provincial petty aristocracy of Asia Minor; a relatively distinguished status is suggested by his bearing of the middle name Doukas and by the fact that his fellow-citizens or the people of his province selected him for a mission to

agents, Filippo Marciano and Matteo Balbo. Thus, Monomachos' Latin letter to Charles is very similar to Limpidaris' Greek letter to the same, while Monomachos' brief Greek letter to Catherine is similar to Limpidaris' Latin letter to her. However, why these particular versions were preserved from each person's letters is somehow unclear.

[117]Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 216-217

[118]Proposed by H. Ahweiler, "Philadelphie et Thessalonique au début du XIVe siècle: à propos de Jean Monomaque", *Byzantina Sorbonensia* 4, 1984, 9-16 and accepted by the PLP (19302). The identification is plausible, but the Monomachos of the years 1316-1324 may also be connected with the relative of the Philadelpheian George Tagaris, mentioned by Kantakouzenos (II, 597)

[119]The identification is suggested by Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 215 and accepted by Ahrweiler, *op.cit.*. The reasons for my doubts are the following: 1. *Dux* does not indicate a function, but, as it is clear from the Greek version, it is his middle name of Doukas; 2. The name Limpidaris, considered a vulgarization of Libadarios, is also attested independently later in the century (Kantak.III, 315). In any case, it appears unlikely that an aristocrat would use that vulgarized version refering to himself, even if he was a man of no learning; 3. Both conspirators try to persuade the foreign princes of their importance in Byzantine affairs. It is surprising that Libadarios would not make allusion to his high-ranking office of Grand Stratopedarch. Even the Greek signature of Limpidaris does not include any title.

Constantinople. But neither he nor Monomachos appear to have been as important as they would like the recipients of their letters to believe. The issue of their alleged secret supporters among the higher echelons of the aristocracy also lends itself to much speculation. I would not think that either the empress Irene, unofficially separated from her husband, or Nikephoros Choumnos, who had recently lost his position as *mesazon* to Theodore Metochites, would be very likely to support a change from which they would have more to lose than to gain[120]. The whole affair seems to reflect mainly the last hopes of the discontented low aristocracy of Asia Minor and not a major party within the aristocracy of the empire in general.

Another, slightly earlier, aristocratic conspiracy may have been indirectly connected to the discontent caused by the loss of Asia Minor. In 1305, while the Catalans were ravaging the outskirts of Constantinople, the cleric John Drimys, who pretended to be a descendant of the Lascarids, plotted to overthrow Andronikos II. At the same time two officials, the Domestic of the Scholae Katelanos and the *epi tou stratou* Mouzakes, were also involved in a conspiracy[121]. Pachymeres presents the two affairs as simultaneous but independent, but they were clearly connected: the two main traits that Pachymeres attributes to the plot of Katelanos and Mouzakes, namely treacherous negotiations with the enemy and support by the Arsenites of Constantinople, are also attributed to the conspiracy of Drimys by the patriarch Athanasios in a contemporary letter[122]. The Lascarid and Arsenite connections indicate that the conspiracies were hoping for support by the refugees from Asia Minor who had flocked in Constantinople at the time. On the other hand, Drimys as well as Mouzakes came from the West and the name of Katelanos may indicate that he was of Catalan origins himself[123]. Mouzakes, although not a very high-ranking official, had connections among the

[120]Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 219, tends to reject Irene's complicity; Ahrweiler, *op.cit.*, 11-13 supports the involvement of Choumnos. It should be admitted here that Choumnos' loyalty was not beyond suspicion: in 1306 he was aware of the plotting of his *consocer*, Kassianos (Pach.II, 620

[121]Pach.II, 592-593

[122]Athanasius Ep., 206, 210

[123]I take Katelanos as a personal name and not as an ethnic name, since for the latter Pachymeres standardly uses *Amogabaros*.

high aristocracy, since he was the father-in-law of Theodore Synadenos, then in his early twenties[124]. There is no mention of Theodore in 1305, but it is noticeable that he would later become one of the more determined enemies of Andronikos II during the first civil war.

The last known aristocratic conspiracy that was connected with Asia Minor occured around 1306. Its leader was the Grand Primmikerios Kassianos, a *gambros* of the emperor[125]. The pattern is almost identical to previous ones: a promising general ("the best" according to Pachymeres), was appointed to defend an important front, in this case Mesothinia, but then he was slandered and fell in disgrace. Kassianos was accused of entertaining plans for a marriage alliance with Osman[126]. Unwilling to face the emperor and expose himself to an uncertain judgement, he rebelled with the support of a few soldiers, occupied the fortress of Chele and asked for assurances for his safety in order to give himself up. Some of the fortress's inhabitants betrayed him and he was imprisonned. The accusations about the Turkish alliance were not pursued, but it was discovered that Kassianos had written to Nikephoros Choumnos, his *sympentheros*, declaring his intention to apostasize, just like Kotanitzes had done in Serbia, if he were not pardoned by the emperor[127]. Like other commanders before him, Kassianos had tried to gain the support of the locals: for that purpose he mistreated the *orphanotrophos* Leo Bardales, whose charge was to collect the "usual taxes from the estates" in order to finance the army. This refers probably to a continuation of the "extraordinary" levy of 10% instituted by the imperial council earlier (in this case as well Bardales was sent after a decision of the council). On the other hand, it appears strange that a measure concerning mainly large landed properties and intended to relieve the province would be unpopular among the local population. Bardales had already been active in the area and had also probably been an opponent of John Tarchaneiotes as

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[124]Delehaye, *Deux typica*, 94

[125]Pach.II, 618. Kassianos was not married to any known daughter of Andronikos II. He may have been married to an illegitimate daughter or, more likely, to a niece of the emperor.

[126]Pach.II, 619. Pachymeres mentions just the "Persian", but it is known that the Turkish emir active in that part of Asia Minor was Osman.

[127]Pach.II, 620. The expression "τὸν ἴδιον συμπένθερον" makes it clear that the author is not referring to the well-known relationship between Choumnos and the emperor Andronikos II, but to a relationship to Kassianos.

well, back around 1297-8[128]. Himself a former commander and a friend of Maximos Planoudes, he was hardly a representative of the Constantinople establishment foreign to Asia Minor[129]. Again, one suspects that Kassianos' support was rather drawn from among desperate soldiers than that it expressed a genuine popularity among the local populations. After all, it was the latter who turned him in to the emperor[130].

All the above instances demonstrate the impact that the loss of Asia Minor had in the relations between the emperor and his aristocracy. We can see that the reaction was very different among the various subgroups: the local *stratiotai* and low-ranking military officials, already alienated by Michael VIII's policies, had to face a terrible shock in economic, social and psychological terms that drove them to despair and made them prone to rebellion and even treason. Among the high aristocracy there was no widespread reaction against the emperor. Instead, we have individuals who attempt to use their wealth or personal reputation in order to attract the loyalties of the discontented locals. Their personal background connections with Asia Minor could be minimal, as indicated by the cases of Michael Angelos or Katelanos and Mouzakes. On the other hand, it is not very easy to lay upon the high aristocracy the resposibility for the decision-making that led to the loss of Asia Minor. It is true that under Michael Palaiologos the interests of the high aristocrats lay in the expansion in Europe and that may have contributed to the neglect of Asia Minor. But the imperial policies after the danger in the East became apparent cannot be characterized as policies of neglect.

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[128] I think that the letter of Maximos Planoudes to Bardales (Planudes Ep., 11-12), where he supports him against the local commander who opposes him should be connected with John Tarchaneiotes rather than Kassianos for various reasons: 1. A dating as late as 1306 would probably fall after the lifetime of Planoudes, thought to have died ca. 1305; 2. Planoudes states that before that general's command it was possible to travel to Smyrna without fear of the Turks. This cannot of course refer to any time after 1302; 3. The unnamed general was characterized as "βλαβερώτατος τὴν θρησκείαν", appropriate only for the schismatic Tarchaneiotes; 4. Planoudes hopes that the furies will "again throw [the general] head first to jail". This fits Tarchaneiotes, who had been many times imprisoned before his command, but not Kassianos. 5. Planoudes' general had some sort of fiscal prerogatives, just like Tarchaneiotes: "the collector of money that the subjects should not have to pay did not even stay away from me, although I did not at all fall under his authority".

[129] On Bardales subsequent carreer, see I.Ševčenko, "Léon Bardalès et les juges généraux, ou la corruption des incorruptibles", *Byzantion* 19(1949), 247-259

[130] We should mention here another Kassianos, who was sent in 1295 by Alexios Philanthropenos, then in Asia Minor, to study with Maximos Planoudes (Planoudes Ep., 128). If he is identified with the rebel of 1306, then the connection with Asia Minor becomes much more obvious. Also his relationship with Leo Bardales, who also belonged to the circle of Planoudes, becomes more complicated.

Prominent aristocrats, such as the porphyrogennetos Constantine and his brother Theodore, resided in the area, whereas the bulk of Michael IX's grants were situated there. Aristocrats such as the Despot Michael [Angelos] or Alexios Philanthropenos were personally involved in the defense of the area. At various points the sources voice accusations against the emperor's entourage and these may reflect a genuine feeling among the populations of Asia Minor as indicated by the rhetoric of the Philanthropenos revolt. However, as both the case of Philanthropenos and that of John Tarchaneiotes demonstrate, opposition to certain commanders could come from within the Asiatic milieu, rather than from distant aristocrats in Constantinople or Europe. The failures of Andronikos II's policies can certainly be attributed to errors of judgement and handling, but not to a deliberate anti-asiatic policy promoted by the high aristocracy.

The role of the Church

After 1295 the combination of the loss of Asia Minor with other factors, such as the deteriorating situation in the Balkans and the internal problems of the Church, rendered the position of Andronikos II at least as vulnerable as that of his father had been. His reaction, however, was different. He continued to follow a policy based on persuasion and consensus, as he had done since the beggining of his reign. For that purpose he allowed certain bodies to participate in decision-making. These were the imperial council, the Synod of the Church and the imperial courts. On the other hand Andronikos managed to preserve the imperial prerogatives that allowed him to control the composition of the highest councils and courts. At one moment, after the great earthquake of 1296, he was forced to give way to pressure and proceed to the judiciary reform that his father had also promised: he formed a new highest court, with a predetermined and permanent composition of twelve laymen and prelates, authorised to listen to accusations against anyone, excepting, of course, the emperor. This dangerous step towards the creation of a highest body that would be independent of the

emperor did not lead anywhere, since the new court only functioned for a very short time and then was forgotten[131].

The support of the Church hierarchy appears to have been crucial for Andronikos' authority. He spent a lot of of time and energy in tactful maneuvers through the sharp internal conflicts of the Church and the antagonisms of the prelates. It appears that the emperor had managed to establish a working relationship with the patriarchs and the Synod. The first time that they opposed one of his decisions was when he appointed the schismatic John Tarchaneiotes as general commander in Asia Minor. But this was a unique case of direct Church opposition to a major political choice of Andronikos II; after all -given the personal history of John Tarchaneiotes-it is not surprising. When on the other hand the patriarch John XII Kosmas extended his criticism to other matters of vital importance for the emperor's policy, namely the marriage alliance with Serbia and the burdensome prices imposed by the imperial monopoly of salt and iron, Andronikos II easily succeeded in using the Synod to isolate the patriarch and oblige him to stop his protest[132]. Even the outspoken and quarelsome Athanasios proved invaluable to Andronikos II during perhaps the most difficult part of his reign before 1321, the time of the Catalan attacks in Thrace and Macedonia. On the occasion of Drimys' conspiracy the patriarch excommunicated not only the conspirators but all who might entertain similar designs and urged Andronikos to be ruthless in suppressing such opposition[133]. In a similar way the synod of 1321 would excommunicate Andronikos III and his rebels at the request of the elder emperor.

In spite of the importance of the Church, there is no indication that the Patriarch or the Synod consciously attempted to influence the political aspect of the emperor's relations with his aristocracy, although occasionally they expressed a wish for better supervision of the dissolute morals of certain aristocrats. This attitude, as expressed in the letters of Gregory II

[131] Pach.II, 236-237
[132] Pach.II, 293-298. John was provocatively abstaining from his duties
[133] Athanasius Ep., 211

and Athanasios, has been discussed above, in Ch.IV[134]. Regarding Athanasios, there is an obscure passage in Pachymeres stating that during his second patriarchate the patriarch isolated the emperor from many people who could have given him sound advice and assisted him in his good purposes[135]. These people had to leave to other cities. It is not clear who are the people concerned, but I find it very unlikely that this is a reference to great lay aristocrats. The passage should rather be interpreted in view of the emperor's intentions to end the Arsenite schism, intentions that could only be realized after Athanasios' second abdication. In that case the reference should concern mostly ecclesiastic advisors, although John Tarchaneiotes, the Arsenite leader, is not to be excluded.

Another passage of the same author is even more confusing[136]: we hear of people who lost their "dignities" or "honours"(τιμάς) and were financially ruined by the patriarch with the emperor's tacit consent. In this case the reference may concern fiscal officials or ecclesiastics[137] , but not court dignitaries. Pachymeres also states that "many great people who were close to the emperor" used to oppose the patriarch's cruelty, but by that time (ca. 1305) they were either dead, or they had been "estranged from the emperor and the city". The latter may well be a reference to the former *mesazon*, Nikephoros Choumnos, who had left Constantinople for Thessalonica, but the passage does not say that it was Athanasios who caused this estrangement[138].

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[134]Pp.276-277

[135]Pach.II, 518: "πολλῶν τῶν δυναμένων βασιλεῖ συνεῖναι καὶ ξυνεργεῖν εἰς τ' ἀγαθὸν ἔρημον τοῦτον ποιεῖν συνέβαινε"

[136]Pach.II, 559-560: "Ἐῴκει δὲ τὸ δαιμόνιον Ῥωμαίους καὶ κατὰ δύσιν εἰσπραττόμενον δίκας ὧν ἐμφανῶς οὐχ οἷοί τ' ἦσαν εἰδέναι πλημμελημάτων, εἰ καὶ ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἱερεὺς τὰς τῶν εἰσπραττόντων ἐργολαβίας ἐπῃτιᾶτο, ὧν οὐδ' αὐτῷ ἐς ἅπαν, ὡς τοὺς πάντας εἰδέναι, οὐ μετὸν ἦν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τοῖς τῆς ἐκκλησίας πράγμασιν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν ἐλληφθὲν τῶν προτέρων ἐκείνων ὅπερ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἔχων, καὶ αὐτὰ δὴ τὰ τῶν ἀξιωμάτων προνόμια ἀκριβῶς αὐτοῖς ἐνεργούμενα, ὡς ἀπαυανθῆναι τελέως τούτοις καί τὰς τιμάς, πτωχῶν μὲν πολυωρίαν προΐσχετο, τιμίους δ' ἄνδρας καὶ αἰδοῦς ἐπιεικῶς ἀξίους παρ' οὐδὲν ἔχων, μηδὲν ἐκείνοις ζωῆς προνοῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναλγήτως ὡς ἐνῆν προσφερόμενος ἐκ πικροῦ καὶ ἀτενοῦς ἤθους, πτωχεύειν ἐποίει (...) πανταχόθι τῆς πόλεως"

[137]The expression "τὰς τῶν εἰσπραττόντων ἐργολαβίας" makes one think of fiscal officials. However, a similar expression is used in the previous sentence in a metaphorical sense: the Divinity was punishing (δίκας εἰσπραττόμενον) the Romans through the defeats in the West. The whole passage that follows appears very incoherent. In his translation P.Poussines interprets it as concerning only ecclesiastic affairs and Church officials, an interpretation that would make sense and cannot be rejected, although resting on a guess.

[138]E. de Vries-van der Velden, *Théodore Métochite, une réévaluation*, Amsterdam 1987, 78-79, based on this passage, supports the idea that the replacement of the "pro-aristocratic" Choumnos by the "non-aristocrat" Metochites occured at the instigation of Athanasios, who was actively promoting an anti-aristocratic policy.

Overall, we may conclude that Andronikos II manipulated the Church in order to gain moral endorsement for his policies, but these were not dictated to him in any way by ecclesiastics. With the exception of affairs that clearly fell under its jurisdiction, such as the Arsenite schism or the Union negotiations, the Church should not be credited with too large an influence on the emperor's decision-making and particularly his relations with the aristocracy.

Before the civil war

The period between 1306-1321 is not very well documented. It falls after Pachymeres' time frame and before that of Kantakouzenos, while Gregoras, who does cover it, is content with a general survey of a few important events. Since he only entered imperial service in 1321, he has little inside information, probably through his master Theodore Metochites. Metochites is probably responsible for the very negative description of the "machinations" of empress Irene, who was separated from her husband and lived between before1305 and 1316 in Thessalonica[139]. According to Gregoras the empress was angered because Andronikos II did not accept her proposal for a division of the empire among their sons. This may be true, although in the relevant passage there are indications that the separation may have taken place for more personal reasons. At any rate, Irene's activity in Thessalonica hardly deserves Gregoras' negative treatment and does not really represent a challenge: on the one hand Irene revealed to certain monks, the noble ladies visiting her and her son-in-law, Milutin of Serbia (but not to "the crowds") some embarassing details about her husband's personal life[140]; on the other, she undertook an intense diplomatic activity. She tried to make her son Theodore

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Choumnos may well have been an enemy of Athanasios (he was at least a friend of Theoleptos of Philadelpheia, a declared enemy of the patriarch) but social policies do not appear to me to have been a very important factor in the whole affair.

[139]Greg.I, 233-244

[140]"θριαμβεύουσα κοινὰ καὶ λαθραῖα τοῦ συζύγου ἐγκλήματα, τοῦτο μόνον φυλαξαμένη, τὸ πρὸς δήμους καὶ πλήθη προφέρειν αὐτά." My guess is that these were the emperor's extra-marital relations. The expression, on the other hand, "πολλὰ τῆς φύσεως ἐξεφαύλισεν ἀπόῤῥητα τοῦ συζύγου τε καὶ ἑαυτῆς ἡ πάντολμός τε καὶ ἀναιδής, ἃ κἂν ἠρυθρίασε λέγουσα καὶ ἡ τῶν ἑταιρίδων ἀσελγεστάτη" leaves more room to the imagination.

lord of Thessaly (which was independent at the time) with the help of the Duke of Athens, but failed. She was more succesful with her son-in-law, Milutin: after winning the confidence of the childless monarch with gifts and flattery (wasted money, according to Gregoras), she persuaded him to recognize one of her sons as his heir in Serbia, but a short visit there persuaded both Demetrios and Theodore that this was not the place where they would like to spend their lives. In spite of the hostile tone, Gregoras' own narrative shows that Irene only challenged Andronikos II' s authority to the extent that she undertook independent negotiations with foreign rulers. Even then, there is no indication that Irene pretended to represent the empire or supplant her husband, while the negotiations were in the best interests of the empire, as well as those of her children, since, if successful, they would have placed the emperor's sons on the thrones of two important neighboring powers without any military activity whatsoever on the part of the Byzantines[141].

The only aristocratic conspiracy that we vaguely know about in those years was hatched by Syrgiannes the younger. Syrgiannes, the son of a Cuman notable settled in the empire and a princess of the imperial family[142], had been apointed governor in Western Macedonia and had been notably succesful. It was apparently he who first received the surrender of the major cities of Epiros. According to Gregoras, Syrgiannes was initially accused of breaking international accords and causing trouble to the Serbs and Epirotes, he was recalled, but then regained his command and even obtained the office of *pinkernes*[143]. This certainly happened before 1319, since Andronikos II refers to Syrgiannes as *pinkernes* in his chrysobull to the city of Ioannina[144]. Then Syrgiannes was accused of planning to lead

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[141]For Irene's alleged plans for a division of the empire, see the discussion of the problem of territorialization below.

[142]For the problem of Syrgiannes family name, see the previous chapter, n.873. Syrgiannes' mother may well have been Eugenia, a daughter of Irene/Eulogia Kantakouzene and niece of Michael VIII. In Kantakouzenos' narrative of the events of 1321, Eugenia performs the role of ambassador to Andronikos III, a role that Gregoras assigned to Syrgiannes' mother. Furthermore, Eugenia was a *megale domestikissa* and we know that Syrgiannes' father had been Grand Domestic. We know that Syrgiannes and John Kantakouzenos were cousins and they were both nephews of the Grand Domestic John Angelos (Senachereim?), but the tree of their kinship has gaps that cannot be completed.

[143]Greg.I, 297-299

[144]MM V, 80

his province into secession and become independent. He was treacherously arrested by the *mystikos* Monomachos, governor of the neighbouring province and imprisoned. Apparently the charges could not be proven, or the emperor had a very short memory, since Syrgiannes was again appointed governor in Thrace in 1321, just in time to join in Andronikos the younger's plans for rebellion. The story as given by Gregoras makes little sense, especially the swings of the emperor's attitude from suspicion of treason to trust and confidence. The story is likely to have been influenced by Syrgiannes' subsequent behavior and I would doubt whether there had ever been any proof of rebellion at that stage. Two elements are of importance: first, the fact that Syrgiannes allegedly became very popular by distributing the booty from his victorious enterprises to his soldiers, thus repeating in the Western Balkans a pattern already encountered in Asia Minor; then, Syrgiannes' opponent, Monomachos. It is interesting that he bore the same name as the conspirator of 1307, but that was so common that we cannot presume a relationship. It is possible that this was the future *eparchos*, Michael Senachereim Monomachos, in which case we have an indication of a strong personal antagonism within the high aristocracy and the provincial governors. In any case, Syrgiannes was still quite powerful at the outbreak of the civil war in 1321.

The civil wars

Reconstructing the events of the first and second civil war would be impossible while remaining within the limits of this study. Our major problem is the nature of our narrative sources, Gregoras and Kantakouzenos. A detailed criticism is not possible here, neither is it necessary for the central argumentation in this chapter. My attitude towards these sources can be summarized as follows. Both write at a considerably later date and present the events through the distorting lense of later developments and attitudes. Gregoras modifies his narrative as much as he has to in order to fit the official version favoured by John VI, emperor when this part of the *Roman history* was composed. However he was not wholeheartedly given to distortion and he allowed his biases to be obvious enough to the

critical reader. A more important problem is carelessness, bad memory and indifference to detail that sometimes make the narrative unreliable. John Kantakouzenos on the other hand had the advantage of being one of the major actors of the events and of possessing an apparently great memory for details. Furthermore, when he was writing he was aware of the text of Gregoras: when he presents a different version of events, he consciously intends to correct the earlier author's narrative. Kantakouzenos is very careful with his statements. The *memoirs* however are a problematic source because their author's intention was not the recording of history. His aim was to re-write the history of his times the way he wished posterity to know it. Writing probably after 1360, perhaps even in the 1370s, Kantakouzenos knew that he was practically one of the very few, perhaps the only surviving individual who had inside knowledge of events and that his assertions would be unopposed. Therefore he did not hesitate to freely remodel events to serve his purpose. In particular his lengthy expositions of negotiations, deliberations and private conversations, indeed all those elements that Kantakouzenos was more than anyone in a position to know intimately, usually should not be considered as representing factual truth[145].

The first stage of the war between the two Andronikoi[146]

The crisis at the highest level of the empire began in 1320, when Andronikos II's son and designated successor, the co-emperor Michael IX, died in Thessalonica. Before Michael's death, his son, Andronikos III, had already been associated to the throne and was sharing in some of the imperial prerogatives with his father and grandfather[147]. Dissatisfied by his grandson's personal lifestyle and character, Andronikos II gave the impression that he was

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[145]On Kantakouzenos' history as a literary construction, see A.P.Kazhdan, "L' histoire de Cantacuzène en tant qu' oeuvre littéraire", *Byzantion* 50(1980), 279-335

[146]Good narratives of the events of 1321-1328 can be found in U.Bosch, *Kaiser Andronikos III Palaiologos*, Amsterdam 1965 (hereafer Bosch, *Andronikos III*), 9-78 and Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 284-299. The commentaries on Gregoras by J.L. van Dieten (*Nikephoros Gregoras: Historia Rhomaike*, Stuttgart 1973) and on the first two books of Kantakouzenos by G.Fatouros and T. Krischer (*Johannes Kantakouzenos: Geschichte*, Stuttgart 1982) are also very useful.

[147]Like issuing imperial chrysobulls: see for example Chil. **41, 42,43**, issued by the three co-emperors in 1319, where Michael IX and Andronikos III confirm the provisions of the senior emperor's charter.

trying to dissociate him from the throne in favor of the emperor's eldest surviving son, the Despot Constantine[148]. The senior emperor did not pursue his aims to the end. In 1321, after putting his grandson to trial and than acquitting him, the emperor recognized Andronikos the younger's right to the succession. By that time, however, a party of aristocrats had been formed around the younger Andronikos that actively strove towards sedition. Their aim is clear from what followed: in Easter 1321 Andronikos III left the capital and started a rebellion in Thrace. In June of the same year an accord between the two emperors divided the empire, granting Thrace to the younger as an autonomous dominion. After a new phase of hostilities, the treaty of Epibatai in 1322 confirmed the division, but restored the unity of the imperial fiscal administration and specified the prerogatives of the two emperors.

In the first phase of the rebellion, the party of the young Andronikos desired to appropriate a rich province of the empire. Andronikos III disregarded the previous imperial grants and proceeded to a redistribution of Thrace's resources among his entourage and his army. The latter was composed essentially of the soldiers already settled in the area, with the addition of some who came to join him after the rebellion[149]; for the local soldiers the new situation was welcome -an indication that they probably were granted increases in their *oikonomiai*- but otherwise their class did not undergo any major upheaval as a result of the imposition of Andronikos III's rule over Thrace. It was in the higher levels of the aristocracy that Andronikos III's rebellion brought major changes. Apparently several important people in the entourage of the older emperor ("small and bigger") were dispossessed and they pressed for a reversal of the accord of 1321[150]. Another major source of income were the taxes that were directly collected for the treasury, which Andronikos III appropriated by virtually robbing the tax-collectors. Those who profited most must have been the young

[148]Kantak.I, 14; the story about Constantine's son, Michael Katharos, probably echoes the main argument of the opposition, that put emphasis to the fact that the empire could potentially end in the hands of an illegitimate son.
[149]Kantak.I, 93, 101; there is no explicit reference to increases in the soldiers' grants, with the exception of the increase of the payment of the merceneries and the grants of land to them (Kantak.I, 164-165)
[150]Greg.I, 352: "τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν μικρούς τε καὶ μείζους ἀφαιρεθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ νεωτέρου τοὺς τῶν οἰκείων χωρίων κλήρους"

emperor's immediate collaborators. Their identities are known and may provide some clue as to the causes of their disposition to rebellion.

John Kantakouzenos would become the emperor's closest collaborator and apparently was already his friend in 1320. He was around 25 years old and held the office of Grand Papias. He had served in the court of Michael IX in Adrianople and at the time of that emperor's death he probably held some sort of command in Gallipoli[151]. In anticipation of the revolt he bought the governorship of Adrianople[152]. Theodore Synadenos was *epi tes trapezes* at ca.37 years of age. Like Kantakouzenos he had been close to Michael IX and at the moment of that emperor's death he laid down his command in Prilep, in Western Macedonia, and returned to Constantinople[153]. The third major collaborator was Syrgiannes. Both authors attribute to Syrgiannes the initiative for approaching Andronikos III and inciting him to revolt, but it is possible that he was asked to join the plot after it had been conceived. His assistance was essential, since he was governor of Thrace. He certainly was not one of the most motivated conspirators, since he changed sides soon afterwards and joined the elder Andronikos, causing to the junior emperor serious distress. Another great aristocrat, whose attitude parallels that of Syrgiannes, was Andronikos Palaiologos [Angelos], grandson of the disgraced Despot Michael[154] and great-grandson of Michael VIII. He was governing the area of Rhodope at the moment of the rebellion and must have been quite young at the time, around his twenties[155]. They were joined by several low ranking aristocrats, of whom the most notable was Alexios Apokaukos, Domestic of the Themes and a fiscal entrepreneur who may have been quite important to the rebellion as a source of ready cash.

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151 Kantak.I, 24

152 Greg.I, 302, but he may be mistaken. Kantakouzenos himself says that he had no command at the time, since he was finding ways to decline the positions offered him by Andronikos II in the Morea and Thessaly. Syrgiannes certainly had a governorship in Thrace and he was there in anticipation of Andronikos III's flight from Constantinople.

153 Kantak.I, 37

154 PLP nos 21428 and 21433 should be identical. As for most other people, including himself, Kantakouzenos attributes to Andronikos an office that he would occupy later. Thus, the "*megas stratopedarches*" of 1321 is in fact the future *megas stratopedarches* of 1341.

155 His grandparents were married around 1278 (Pach.Iii, 559) and his father was probably their second son. Assuming that his father married around twenty, there was barely time for Andronikos to reach his twentieth year by 1321.

Why would a group of young aristocrats (the oldest of them was probably Theodore Synadenos at 37) assume the risk of open rebellion? Undoubtedly there were particular reasons for each individual. But some common factors are worth noticing. First, most of them had already a personal or family background of opposition to the emperor. Kantakouzenos was descended from his mother's side from the leading Arsenite, Martha Tarchaneiotissa. This family connection was not of secondary importance to him: the day when Andronikos III was summoned to appear before the imperial court, Kantakouzenos preferred to attend the mourning of his uncle, the famous Arsenite and former commander John Tarchaneiotes who happened to die at that time[156]. Theodore Synadenos was, as we saw, son-in-law of Mouzakes, conspirator in 1305. Andronikos Palaiologos was the grandson of the often-mentioned Despot Michael (Michael VIII's son-in-law), while Syrgiannes had a personal history of at least suspect activities. But it is not in the past that the causes from their alienation from Andronikos II should be sought. As the list of supporters of the two sides shows, the divisions this time did not follow the lines of previous conflicts. Andronikos II retained the loyalty of people with very bad personal relations such as Theoleptos of Philadelpheia and Manuel Tagaris, even the former rebel Alexios Philanthropenos; both Nikephoros Choumnos and Theodore Metochites participated in the court that judged Andronikos III, an indication that they both could be trusted by the senior emperor.

It is possible, on the other hand, that these "burdens" in the family background damaged the carreer perspectives of those young aristocrats. At 37, Theodore Synadenos, son of a Grand Stratopedarch and grandson of a Sebastocrator, was still a Domestic of the Table. It is possible that his younger brother, John, did not bear any office at all at this time. John Kantakouzenos held the still lower office of Grand Papias. Andronikos Palaiologos, an emperor's great-grandson, may not have held an office at all. Syrgiannes held the more satisfactory office of *pinkernes*, but it is possible that previous suspicions had damaged his

[156]Kantak.I, 57

prospects and he may have felt that his rewards were not commensurate with his successes in Western Greece. But there is another dimension that should be added here: the unexpected death of Michael IX. Since his departure from Asia Minor in 1302, the junior emperor had made his residence in Adrianople, where a separate imperial entourage was formed. From Michael's top collaborators to the low-ranking officers of his army, there were many people who normally expected that Andronikos II would die first and, once their patron was the senior emperor, the way to promotion and enrichment would be open to them. John Kantakouzenos and Theodore Synadenos were among the collaborators of Michael IX[157]. It is probably for the same reason that the conspirators felt so certain about the support of the Thracian armies[158]. It was noted to Andronikos III that Adrianople was full of his father's *oikeioi* who were expected to support him[159]. At a time when the empire's resources were shrinking, a large group within the new generation of aristocrats of all strata, as well as soldiers, were awaiting Michael IX's accession as the decisive occasion that would give them the priority in claiming the offices and grants that were becoming available only too slowly. For those people, Michael's death was a serious blow. Most of them had limited contacts to the old emperor's court in Constantinople and even imperial relatives, such as Kantakouzenos or Synadenos, were in a disadvantaged position by comparison to other members of the same social rank. But the worst thing was the perspective of a succession by the Despot Constantine, who probably had his own entourage[160]. Andronikos II's moves towards udermining his grandson's succession may have been the result of the influence exerted upon him by those who wished to eliminate the circle of Michael IX from the race for imperial favor and prominence. The younger Andronikos was the natural rallying point of all those

[157]According to Gregoras (I, 301), Synadenos was for Michael IX what Kantakouzenos was for Andronikos III. For John Kantakouzenos' residence in Michael's court and his friendship with Synadenos, see Kantak.I, 38; G.Weiss, *Johannes Kantakuzenos*, Wiesbaden 1969 (hereafter Weiss, *Kantakuzenos*), 23ff., is correct in bringing to attention the important factor of Michael IX's former entourage.

[158]Kantak.I, 101

[159]Kantak.I, 23

[160]His subordinates in Thessalonica, Constantine Palaiologos, Manuel Senachereim and John Zarides, may have been members of that entourage. It is noticeable that they were lower-ranking than the circle of Michael IX.

who felt threatened by the new situation. His success propelled them to prominence faster than they would have expected otherwise: either in the agreement of 1321, or in the treaty of Epibatai in 1322, the senior emperor promoted his grandson's main collaborators to important offices: Syrgiannes became Grand Duke, John Kantakouzenos became Grand Domestic, while Theodore Synadenos became Protostrator. Alexios Apokaukos became *parakoimomenos*, a very high office for someone from the low aristocracy of financial officials and fiscal speculators. It would be interesting to know whom they replaced in those offices, but our information has gaps for the period immediately before 1321. The only interesting hypothesis concerns the office of *protostrator*, from which Theodore Synadenos may have displaced Andronikos Asan, the emperor's nephew and father-in-law of John Kantakouzenos[161]. Asan, who was a succesful governor in the Morea was recalled in 1321 at the orders of the younger Andronikos[162]and was, we are told, very resentful at the fact that he was not granted the office of *sebastokrator* as a reparation. Since Andronikos III was not given control over the Morea, according to the descriptions of the accords that we have, it is possible that Asan's recall and resentment were connected to the loss of his court office. This would better explain his desire to become Sebastokrator: any office lower than Protostrator would be degrading, but all the higher offices were occupied[163]. On the other hand it would have been inappropriate to confer a lofty title such as Sebastokrator or Despot on someone who was not the emperor's son or brother. The affair was a compromise rather than a violent deposition: during the war Asan's son, Manuel, was married to the daughter of Theodore Synadenos[164]. Asan himself remained a prominent figure in the court of Constantinople and he led the list of officials who signed the treaty with Venice in 1324[165]. It is worth noticing that although Andronikos and his brother, Constantine Asan, signed before many office-

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[161]The information about Andronikos Asan as *protostrator* comes only from Philes I, 113

[162]Greg.I, 362. On Asan;s success in the Morea, see Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken* I, 242

[163]See table I. There is a gap only for the office of *protosebastos*.

[164]Kantak.I, 125. I do not think it likely that Andronikos Asan had approved of this match. As in the later civil war of 1341, his sons appear more attached politically to their brother-in-law, John Kantakouzenos, than to their father

[165]MM III, 104

bearers, including the *mesazon* Theodore Metochites, they bore no office whatsoever. If our suppositions about Andronikos Asan are accurate and if he is representative of the restructuring that occured in the upper levels of the aristocracy during the civil war, we see that the new group of aristocrats did not attempt to eliminate the generation that was already in power; their aim was to supplant them, forcing them to a sort of early retirement.

As far as the distribution of state grants was concerned, the first solution that the party of Andronikos III sought was the detachment of an area, Thrace in this case, for their exclusive use. The final agreement of 1322 restored the unity of the empire and Thrace reverted to the rulership of Andronikos II, who was allowed to reimpose his fiscal apparatus, but the grants that Andronikos III had made to his soldiers and supporters were recognized and a large annual allowance was reserved for the younger emperor[166]. Although formally the arrangement left Andronikos III in more or less the same subordinate position that his father had occupied before him, it marked a complete victory for his partisans, who were accepted in the first rank of the imperial aristocracy. The younger Andronikos could be assured both of his succession and of his grandfather's good faith until then: his uncle, the Despot Constantine, remained his prisoner in Didymoteichon.

An unexpected victim of the emperors' reconciliation was Syrgiannes, who had changed sides between 1321 and 1322 and had attempted with some success to reconquer Thrace for Andronikos II. He was accused of aspiring to the empire and condemned with the agreement of both emperors. From the description of both Gregoras and Kantakouzenos we may believe that there was no evidence against him. The accusation rested on the testimony of Andronikos Asan, to whom allegedly Syrgiannes had confided his discontent with the pacification and his intention to assasinate Andronikos II and proclaim himself emperor[167]. An imperial court was convoked, but the case against Syrgiannes was not proven. For the first time perhaps, that faithful instrument of Andronikos II's policy refused to act upon the

166Kantak.I, 164-165, 167
167Greg.I, 363

emperor's wishes and condemn Syrgiannes. The Grand Duke was imprisoned simply on the emperor's arbitrary orders, with the consent of the younger Andronikos[168]. The two authors disagree concerning the causes for Syrgiannes' disgrace. According to Gregoras, Asan acted upon directions from his son-in-law, Kantakouzenos, while Kantakouzenos himself places the entire responsibility for the decision upon the senior emperor. The question of who took the initiative is only of secondary importance, however. We may believe that Syrgiannes was eliminated with the full consent of both emperors: the reconciliation had caused an overcrowding in the upper echelons of the aristocracy. Neither emperor could afford to waste his favor and resources on someone whose loyalty he could not trust.

Although this first phase of the civil war was essentially a conflict between aristocratic groups, there are indications that the other strata of society, besides the aristocracy and the army, did not remain passive spectators. Andronikos III had the wholehearted support of the population of Thrace, we are told, because he promised lighter taxation[169]. The complete alleviation mentioned by Gregoras (ἐλευθερία καὶ ἀτέλεια) concerned cities and towns, rather than the countryside. The information is not difficult to accept, especially since we know that other emperors had granted similar privileges to cities[170]. At the time, Andronikos III was not in immediate need of cash, since he had confiscated the money of the tax-collectors. On the other hand, it is doubtful that these privileges survived the reimposition of Andronikos II's fiscal administration in 1322. The young emperor's alliance with the city populations was a temporary necessity. His main strength were the local *stratiotai*, not the citizenry, and it was the soldiers' income that he cared to protect by the treaty of Epibatai.

The case with the populations of the large cities, Constantinople and Thessalonica, was different. I think that Constantinopolitan support for Andronikos III is somehow exaggerated. It should be kept in mind that after the events of the second civil war, the support of the urban low classes was seen as a negative trait for a political undertaking.

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[168]Kantak.I, 171-172
[169]Greg.I, 819
[170]See examples in ch.III. The most recent case was Ioannina, in 1319 (MM V, 77-84)

Gregoras, therefore, stated that the populace of Constantinople was ready to revolt if an army appeared outside the walls, while Kantakouzenos admits that, but states that Andronikos III and himself disdained to seek that sort of support[171]. The truth is that, whether they could or not, they did not seek it and the population of Constantinople did not play any active part in the events of 1321-1322. But Thessalonica was another matter. It may not be an exaggeration to say that at a moment when Andronikos III had been caught in a pincer between two fronts and while the renegade Syrgiannes was slowly gaining ground against him in Thrace, the revolt in Thessalonica and the arrest of the Despot Constantine decided the outcome of the war. Again, Kantakouzenos downplays the role of the popular element, while Gregoras underlines it: according to Kantakouzenos, there was a rebellion (*stasis*) and "the supporters of the young emperor" took control of Thessalonica and arrested the Despot[172]. Gregoras mentions twenty-five rebels who pushed the people (*demos*) of Thessalonica to revolt. Their names were known in the capital and Andronikos II sent orders to his son for their arrest. They were faster to act and incited a full-scale popular revolt, complete with church bells ringing, looting of the houses of the Despot and his subordinates and murders of some of the latter[173]. One wonders how much this description -by someone who was not there at the time- echoes the scenes of 1345-46[174]. It is difficult to interpret the full-scale support of the populace for Andronikos III, especially since the latter's revolt was all but anti-aristocratic in character. I would rather imagine that there was a more limited-scale revolt, with the participation primarily of the soldiers (it is noticeable that the Despot could not present an armed resistance) and certain prominent citizens (Gregoras' "twenty-five"?), not unlikely of aristocratic status, who had connections with the rebel party, perhaps dating back to Michael IX's residence in Thessalonica in 1319-1320. It is possible that the conspirators sought the support of lower-class elements, even riff-raff, allowing for the looting of the Despot's

[171] Greg.I, 320; Kantak.I, 96, 98, 102, 105
[172] Kantak.I, 149
[173] Greg.I, 356
[174] K.-P.Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion*, 61, notes an interesting parallel with the description of a full-scale riot in Thessalonica by Thomas Magistros, suggesting that it implies the events of 1322. We do not know to what period Magistros is referring, but the obvious guess is the time of the Zealot revolts.

houses, but a broad-scale uprising of the city population is difficult to explain. I would think that although the rebel Andronikos sought the support of some groups other than the aristocracy and the army[175], his revolt did not in any way express their interests, neither did its outcome change their social situation. The quarrel of the two Andronikoi was primarily an affair concerning the aristocracy, although other social groups could be involved in it.

The years of peace (1322-1327)

The agreement of 1322 worked well for five years. The young aristocrats who had risen alongside Andronikos III cooperated normally with the senior emperor as his generals and advisors. Kantakouzenos, for example, undertook a campaign in Asia Minor in 1325[176]. Those years, however, saw an aristocratic challenge of a different kind, that was in a way indicative of new tendencies. In 1326 Andronikos II concluded a marriage alliance with Serbia: the daughter of the *panhypersebastos* John Palaiologos, son of the porphyrogennetos Constantine and nephew of Andronikos II, was given in marriage to the Kral Stephen Dečanski. This was undoubtedly desired by Andronikos II's court, since the bride's maternal grandfather was Theodore Metochites, who even allowed his favorite daughter, the bride's mother, to settle in the Serbian court[177]. But the *panhypersebastos*, who was then governor of Thessalonica, used his new relationship in an "unexpected" way: allying himself with the Kral, he claimed part of the empire for himself and attacked Macedonia. John based his claim on his father's alleged hereditary rights in Macedonia[178]. In fact, it is possible that the information reported by Gregoras but ignored by Pachymeres, concerning Michael VIII's

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[175]The affair of the head of a Vlach tribe, Syrmpanos, who at the head of an armed band of shepherds joined Andronikos III's army against Andronikos Palaiologos in Rhodope was hardly a "Bauernaufstand" (Matshke, *op.cit.*, 60). The expression ἀγρόται (Kantak.I, 146) has the sense of "rural people" rather than "peasants" and refers to the armed nomads, not to a peasant revolt. Their motivation is clear from what follows: they receive rich gifts from Andronikos III.

[176]For this campaign see Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 292 and note 33

[177]Greg.I, 373-374; Kantak.I, 209-211

[178]Gregoras' "ἅτε κλῆρον οὖσαν (τὴν βασιλείαν) αὐτῷ πατρικόν" cannot possibly apply to the whole of the empire. In any case, Kantakouzenos specifies that John wanted "ὧν ἐπετρόπευε πόλεων (...) ἰδίαν ἑαυτῷ καταστήσῃ δυναστείαν, ἀποστήσας βασιλέως"

plan for a division of the empire between his two sons, originated as part of the *panhypersebastos'* propaganda. The government in Constantinople was quick in compromising with the rebel. According to Gregoras, he obtained the title of Caesar and the corresponding insignia and accepted to return to Thessalonica, but fell sick and died. It is unlikely, however, that the *panhypersebastos* would have gone to such lengths simply for a court promotion. I would think it possible that the accord included a recognition of John's lordship over Macedonia, but, since this was never realized because of his death, Gregoras passes over it in silence. In that case, we have a high aristocrat's rebellion, whose aim and means of support are very different from previous challenges to imperial power: the aim is the detachment of a part of the empire. Such an arrangement may have been in the mind of Alexios Philanthropenos in 1295 and a similar desire was attributed to Syrgiannes in 1319, but the only real precedent was the rebellion of the younger Andronikos in 1321. Andronikos, however, was a lawful emperor and, in any case, the treaty of 1322 put an end to the division.

The other new pattern was the use of a foreign power as source of support. Again, there were distant precedents in the beginning of the thirteenth century, but in many ways this can be considered an innovation that would set a pattern for future challenges, such as those of Syrgiannes or John Kantakouzenos who would seek the empire supported by Serbian armies. Whether it was formally recognized in an accord or not, the price would probably be the concession of imperial territory to an alien power.

However, I do not think that the rebellion of John Palaiologos was independent from the conflict between the two Andronikoi. On the contrary, there are several indications that this event marked a new phase in it. First, it is noticeable that Andronikos II rushed to reach an agreement with the rebel without any consultation with his grandson and heir. Especially if the agreement icluded the concession of territory, as I suspect, this haste is inexplicable. Then Kantakouzenos, discreetly but clearly, points to Theodore Metochites and his sons as accomplices to the rebellion and, for once, it appears that he is truthful: the *mesazon*'s sons

were governing Strumitza and Melnik, two cities of the upper Strymon strategically located close to the border between the parts claimed by the rebel and the territories governed by Andronikos III in Thrace. It is significant that John Palaiologos and the Serbians did not attack Thessalonica, but exactly the area of Strymon and Serrai. Whether the two young Metochitai were in treacherous correspodence with their brother-in-law or not, the fact that they were exposed to accusations indicates that they did not oppose him. John himself, before his rebellion, had been appointed at the governorship of the very area that he intended to claim, Macedonia. Finally, it should be noted that immediately after the Caesar's unexpected death a secret embassy headed by Gregoras was dispatched from Constantinople to the Serbian court. Gregoras only mentions as an objective the return of Metochites' daughter, the Caesar's widow, who remained in her son-in-law's court, but, as it has been correctly pointed out[179], the real purpose was the fostering of an alliance against Andronikos III, whence the secrecy.

The result that I draw from the above observations may appear surprising: the imperial court in Constantinople engendered a detailed, long term plan, aiming at the detachment of a significant part of imperial territory with the assistance of the Serbian king[180]. But this would make sense if interpreted under the same light as Andronikos III's rebellion in 1321. By 1326 the situation had been inverted: Andronikos III's succession was assured and his aristocratic circle had gained the precedence that it wanted. The really endangered part of the aristocracy now was the circle of the elder emperor. Although Andronikos II and his government still controlled the provincial and fiscal administration, it was clear that the balance restored in 1322 would end with the old emperor's death. In that context it is not surprising that a part of the aristocracy, centered around the *mesazon*,

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[179]U. Bosch, *Andronikos III*, 41; Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 295

[180]U. Bosch, *Andronikos III*, 39-41, first suspected a collusion between the Caesar and Andronikos II, but she would place it after the accord that ended the rebellion. According to Bosch, Andronikos II rushed to offer the title of Caesar to his nephew in order to prevent further Serbian incursions in the countryside and to prevent his grandson from profiting from the embarassing situation. My objection is that the accord was the worse course that Andronikos II could follow if he wished to clear his favourite, Metochites, from suspicion. This interpretation also does not explain the absolute lack of contact between the two emperors on an issue of such importance.

Theodore Metochites, conceived the idea to deprive Andronikos III of part of his heritage, by promoting an independent ruler in Macedonia (perhaps under some sort of feudal subjection to the emperor). Macedonia, unlike Thrace, had not been subjected to Andronikos III during the war of 1321-1322 and it was probably the area where the properties of the supporters of the senior emperor were located, while the resources of Thrace had been mostly distributed to the supporters of the young Andronikos. The plan for a political division would guarantee that this balance would be maintained after Andronikos II's death. The fist phase of the civil war had shown that the Macedonian armies were not likely to support such a project, therefore it would have to rely on foreign support. Although Kantakouzenos does not implicate Andronikos II, it seems likely that Metochites' policies had the approval of the old emperor, an indication either of the hatred for his grandson, or of the control that Andronikos II's entourage exercised on him by now. According to Kantakouzenos, John Palaiologos failed to achieve any military successes[181]. But it was the Caesar's death that completely spoiled the plans for a political division and made an open confrontation between the two emperors unavoidable.

The final phase (1327-28)

Kantakouzenos' account leaves no doubt that the final conflict between Andronikos II and his grandson began essentially, if not officially, with the affair of the Caesar's rebellion and the secret instructions sent at the same time from Constantinople to the governors of Western Macedonia against Andronikos III. The younger emperor had not been passive all that time, but was actively promoting his image as an energetic ruler who cared about the misfortunes of the empire and who was more able to defend it from its external enemies. He presented plans for intervention in Asia Minor, that would be equivalent to placing into his hands a large army and ample resources. In general, he gave every indication that he did not

[181] According to my interpretation, these were not necessary. As Gregoras mentions, the invading army only looted the countryside as far as the Strymon and then retreated without attempting to besiege any cities (Kantakouzenos does not contradict that). Probably the purpose of the invasion was just to cause enough turmoil to justify Andronikos II's concession to John Palaiologos.

intend to wait for his grandfather's demise in order to assume the full prerogatives of an emperor. The events of 1327 showed that he could not afford to wait. Without openly rebelling, he took some significant steps: he concluded an alliance with the Bulgarian Tsar, he forced the tax-collectors of Thrace to hand the tax-money to him, evoking his imperial right, he started appointing his own governors to the cities that he could control and, more symbolically, he announced his intention to send an embassy to Egypt for negotiations. All three prerogatives (fiscal supervision, provincial administration and foreign policy) had been reserved by the treaty of Epibatai for Andronikos II alone. When the young emperor announced his intention to enter Constantinople in order to arrange the affairs of the Egyptian embassy, the gates of the city were closed to him and the war broke out[182]. Andronikos III found general support among the populations and many commanders of the Macedonian cities and was able to fight off his grandfather's generals and their Serbian allies with relatively little trouble. After an attempt of Andronikos II's government to profit from a Bulgarian change of sides failed, the position of the old emperor and his entourage was doomed. In May 1328 a conspiracy admitted Andronikos III and his army inside the walls of Constantinople. The civil war was over and the empire had once more a unified government and court.

The most notable aspect of this phase of the war was the general acceptance of Andronikos III by Byzantine society, including the aristocracy. The attempts of the old emperor's entourage to fight by all means an evolution that was unavoidable was unlawful, not to mention that many would share the accusations of ineptitude and corruption voiced against the government of Andronikos II. The old emperor was not in the position to seek support by consensus, as he had done in the past. Even the patriarch Isaiah bluntly rejected the order to stop the commemoration of the young emperor's name in churches. In Macedonia, aristocratic *kephalai*, such as Tzamplakon or Angelos opened their cities to Andronikos III. The most surprising adherence to his side was perhaps that of his uncle

[182]Greg.I, 392-394.

Theodore of Montferrat, son of Andronikos II. The main cause for this was Theodore's profound enmity against Theodore Metochites. Although in his case there were good personal reasons, it appears that Metochites was widely detested among the aristocracy, even those who ended up siding with him, such as the *protovestiarios* Andronikos Palaiologos[183]. Rather than a conflict between a feudal and a centralizing view of the empire, this unpopularity of Metochites was a consequence of his well known greed and corruption, in connection with his authority to allot governorships and commissions, and his haughty personal manner. The lower part of table VIII presents the people who were Metochites' allies in the last effort to impede Andronikos III's assumption of control over the whole of the empire. They fall essentially under two categories. First there are a few very prominent aristocrats, close relatives of Andronikos II: his son Demetrios and his nephews, Andronikos Palaiologos the *panhypersebastos*, and the Asan brothers, Michael and Constantine. Their brother Andronikos, the father-in-law of John Kantakouzenos, does not appear in either camp. A different group is formed by officials of the administration, probably appointees and collaborators of Theodore Metochites, such as Kokalas or Theodore Kabasilas. The first group were the highest-ranking aristocrats of the empire. They did not risk elimination and remained prominent after 1328, but they did have to cede precedence to the associates of Andronikos III, lost their role in influencing decision-making and may have suffered partial loss of property as well. The second group would be at the mercy of those who envied their wealth and position or resented the means by which they arrived there. Unfortunately we are not in a position to know whether Kokalas and Kabasilas kept their offices after 1328. The problem is more general, since we cannot tell whether the change of regime in Constantinople

[183]On Theodore of Montferrat see Greg.I, 396, but especially Theodore's own "Eseignemens" in old French, ed. by Chr. Knowles, *Les enseignements de Théodore Paléologue*, London 1983, 107-112. His hatred for Metochites has been interpreted as the opposition of a Western feudal prince to an advocate of centralizing policies and fiscal impositions (Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion*, 44-45), but one should not forget the old rivalry between Metochites and Theodore's mother, the empress Irene, something that Theodore recalls (*Enseignemens*, p.243) when he accuses Metochites of having incited the emperor against his mother and brothers in the same way that he did for himself. On Andronikos Palaiologos see Kantak.I, 211-212, although the author may deliberately exaggerate, wishing to show how Andronikos III had protected his two future enemies, Palaiologos and Metochites, from each other's designs.

brought a general upheaval among the ranks of the office-holders of the administration. Some officials, such as the *protasecretis* Leo Bardales, kept their offices. But it is indicative that we have minimal information about the occupants of the administrative offices after 1328, with the exception of the time of the civil war of 1342-47. The new *mesazon* of Andronikos III was for the first time a person who had not risen through the bureaucracy of the *logothesia* and other administrative "departments", but as a fiscal entrepreneur, Alexios Apokaukos[184]. Maybe the transformation of the administrative offices to the empty honorific titles of Pseudo-Kodinos' time began to take place under Andronikos III. Apart from the two categories presented above, there were people like George Choumnos, son of the former *mesazon*, who, just like Metochites' sons, owed his presence among the high aristocracy to Andronikos II's loyalty to his close collaborators. People like him would feel unprotected among the high aristocracy of Andronikos III's court, with whom they had minimal connections[185].

Facing this group of established interests there was a broad alliance of aristocrats, the Church and the urban populations. As in 1321-22, the behavior of the latter cannot be interpreted as a manifestation of anti-aristocratic feeling or designs. Exactly as in the earlier instance, the opposition of the people of Constantinople to Andronikos II is attested by both authors but did not find expression in open action. Thessalonica rose once more in support of Andronikos III, but this uprising did not evolve along class lines: military activities were essentially carried out by Andronikos III and his soldiers, although the people were supporting them. The inhabitants of the acropolis, presumed to have been the aristocratic part of the city, were also on the young emperor's side and forced the guard to surrender[186].

In conclusion, the civil conflict of 1321-1328 can be interpreted as the confrontation of two aristocratic groupings, those who had the largest share of imperial favor under

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[184]Kantak.I, 339
[185]After the change of 1328, the Choumnoi seem to have shifted alliances, all while remaining outside the high aristocracy: George's niece married Alexios Apokaukos. His brother, John, became a determined enemy of the Asan brothers, as it appears from his correspondence (Boissonade, *Anecdota Nova*, 211)
[186]Kantak.I, 269-272

Andronikos II, a favor that would be translated in terms of offices, appointments and grants, and those who had placed their hopes in the eventual succession first of Michael IX and then of Andronikos III. A transition that would probably have taken place peacefully and by way of compromise had Michael IX survived his father became a cause of intense strife once Michael died and Andronikos III fell out of favor with his grandfather. The first group tried to block that transition, while the second strove to hasten it. At different times, each of the two groups considered the possibility of preserving their interests through partition of the empire. In 1321 it was the weaker party, that around Andronikos III, that sought the detachment of Thrace. In 1327 it was probably the party of the old emperor that was in a weak and desperate position and attempted to prevent Macedonia from coming under Andronikos III's direct control. The attitudes of those aristocrats who were not directly connected to either group of interest, as well as of the Church, were not uniform. In the first phase they were neutral or oscillating. In the second phase they supported the solution that promised the greater stability, i.e. to hasten the succession of Andronikos III. The group that was decisevely won over by the young emperor's generosity and promise of a more active policy of defence was the army. They generally supported Andronikos III in 1321-22. The only general of the other party who does not appear to have had a problem controlling the loyalty of his armies was the talented and independent-minded Syrgiannes. With Syrgiannes in chains, the Byzantine army was solidly at the side of the young emperor in 1327-28. It is telling that Andronikos II's only hope rested in the support of foreign troops. In 1322 he employed Turkish mercenaries, while in 1328 the only force that resisted in Macedonia were the Serbian auxiliaries led by Hrelja.

The sole reign of Andronikos III

The victory of Andronikos III in 1328 did not heal the division among the aristocracy. The clearest indication of this came in 1329, when the emperor fell seriously ill in Didymoteichon and was expected to die. His close collaborators, headed by John

Kantakouzenos and Theodore Synadenos, tried to eliminate all possibility that the emperor's relatives return to power, wishing to promote the safest solution, the succession of the as yet unborn child of Andronikos III and Anne of Savoy[187], under the regency of Kantakouzenos. Thus, Andronikos II was forced by Theodore Synadenos to formally renounce all claim to the throne and assume the monastic habit, while the Despot Constantine, just liberated at the emperor's orders, "was carried off in the most secret places"[188]at the initiative of John Kantakouzenos[189]. Fearing for her life, Andronikos III's mother, the empress Xene, who resided in Thessalonica, formed an alliance with Syrgiannes, who had been set free in 1328 and was governor of that city[190]. Thus, as soon as a vacuum of power was in sight, two opposing parties were formed, although the emperor's recovery postponed the open manifestation of this division.

The rise of Syrgiannes with the support of Xene ran directly counter to the interests of the other "strong man", John Kantakouzenos, the more so since Xene and Kantakouzenos' powerful mother, Theodora, apparently detested each other[191]. Xene's death and Syrgiannes' final disgrace coincided in 1333, but it is not certain whether the latter was a result of the former[192]. Syrgiannes was accused of treason. The accuser was one of John Kantakouzenos' closest collaborators, the Grand Papias Arsenios Tzamplakon, and the Grand Domestic's influence on Andronikos III can be clearly discerned in the handling of the affair[193]. As with

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[187]Greg.I, 482. The child that Anne was carrying was not John V, born in 1332. Kantakouzenos does not mention that Anne was pregnant at all.

[188]Greg.I, 441 ff.

[189]Kantak.I, 398

[190]Greg.I, 440; I am not sure that "εἰσποιεῖται" should be interpreted as "adoptat",as in the Bonn Latin translation, followed by U.Bosch, *Andronikos III*, 181, the PLP and others. It could be used as a synonym of "προσποιεῖται", "takes on her side". If , however, Gregoras does refer to an adoption, then we would have one more instance when he tacitly lends credibility to the claims of Kantakouzenos' and Andronikos III's opponents. The story of Kantakouzenos (I, 335), about the enmity between Xene and Syrgiannes should not be believed (see Bosch, *Andronikos III*, 91)

[191]Greg.I, 440; Kantakouzenos, who was aware of this accusation, tries to deny it indirectly, by describing an anecdotal scene in Andronikos III's deathbed, in Kantak.I, 395

[192]Greg.I, 490

[193]Greg.I, 489; Kantak.I, 437ff. Kantakouzenos does not connect the affair of the oaths with the illness of Andronikos III. He claims that it was he himself who appointed Syrgiannes in Thessalonica during that illness. As in most cases where Kantakouzenos is trying to demonstrate the ingratitude of his enemies, his information should be rejected in favor of that of Gregoras. On Arsenios Tzamplakon and his connections with Kantakouzenos, see Theocharides, *Tzamplakones*, 157-169

Syrgiannes' previous trials, the accusation rested on doubtful witnesses. Kantakouzenos claims that Syrgiannes was demanding an oath of loyalty, similar to that demanded by the Despot Michael thirty years before. Gregoras only mentions the oath that Syrgiannes had demanded from the Thessalonians on behalf of the empress Xene in 1329, an oath that was not compromising, since it included a clause of loyalty to Andronikos III and, in case he died, to his unborn child. By mentioning that "the majority of the judges were already going to acquit him", something that never happened, Gregoras is indirectly manifesting his belief in the Grand Duke's innocence, all while stating "cryptically" that Syrgiannes' behavior in 1329 had given cause of suspicion "τοῖς ἄρχουσι"[194]. Whatever the truth Syrgiannes, who had already had the bitter experience of a parody trial in 1323, fled Constantinople with the assistance of the Genoese. According to Gregoras he asked for a guarantee of his security and proposed in return to retire from public life, if the emperor would only provide him and his family with residence and land in some province, but his proposals were rejected. In any case, in 1333 Syrgiannes followed the earlier example of the Caesar John Palaiologos and allied himself with the Serbian Kral, who now was Stephen Dušan. By the next year Syrgiannes was marching against Thessalonica and it was only by engineering his assasination by Sphrantzes that the imperial government managed to stop his advance[195].

The interpretation of Syrgiannes' rebellion depends largely upon the version of the events that one accepts. Gregoras and Kantakouzenos give two very different descriptions. According to Kantakouzenos, Syrgiannes was entirely dependent on the support of the Serbians and some Albanian allies with whom he had been familiar since the time of his governorship in the West, before 1319. Some cities of Macedonia, most notably Kastoria, despaired of any imperial assistance arriving in time and surrendered. According to Kantakouzenos Syrgiannes' advance on Thessalonica did not aim at capturing the city, but at driving the smaller cities to despair and forcing them to surrender.

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[194]Greg.I, 488-89. If Kantakouzenos is deliberately laying blame on Syrgiannes, Gregoras can be suspected of indirectly favoring him. One wonders how Gregoras would know the verdict that was never announced. Syrgiannes, for one, feared that he would be condemned.
[195]Greg.I,490, 495-501; Kantak.I, 450-458

Gregoras, on the other hand, implies a large internal following of Syrgiannes. The rebel's first action was to start sending letters to the cities of the empire inviting them to join his cause, promising various rewards. The letters were very effective and "almost everyone" wholeheartedly joined Syrgiannes' side and awaited his arrival. Andronikos III was terrified, since he had to face not only a foreign invasion, but also a civil war that was expected to reach the capital itself. The palace fortifications were extended and provisions were stored in them. Before leaving Constantinople to face the rebel the emperor brought his family in Hagia Sophia and asked the patriarch to be the guarantor of their safety. He traveled to Thessalonica with no army (Kantakouzenos mentions a small force, because the rest were still gathering) since he could trust nobody but John Kantakouzenos. Once Syrgiannes and Stephen Dušan began their advance on Thessalonica, the cities and the countryside joined them immediately, both because they liked Syrgiannes and because it was harvest time and they were afraid for their crops. The people of Thessalonica were all ready to accept the rebel in their city in spite of the presence of the emperor, who was planning his escape by a small boat. Both accounts end with the assassination and the retreat of the Serbian army.

Both authors can be suspected of giving a biased view. Gregoras, even while maintaining the appearence of giving a report faithful to the official version of Andronikos III and Kantakouzenos, tries indirectly to suggest the unpopularity of Kantakouzenos and his patron. Kantakouzenos, of course, wants the readers to believe exactly the opposite. Both authors, however, agree on certain facts: Andronikos III rushed to Thessalonica without any significant armed forces. That it was his presence, rather than reinforcements, that was needed, is an indication that the emperor did not fear a siege by the Serbians so much as a betrayal by the city's inhabitants or commanders. Information about the fake punitive measures taken against Sphrantzes in Thessalonica and Constantinople was expected to reach Syrgiannes promptly, an indication that he had contacts in those cities and open channels of communication. This can be contrasted with the situation of 1322 and 1327, when Andronikos III had managed to effectively isolate his grandfather from the commanders in

Macedonia by cutting off all means of communication. No resistance was offered by the Byzantine armies of Macedonia, although Syrgiannes' campaign ought to have been expected. Finally, some cities of Macedonia, including Kastoria, adhered to Syrgiannes before the campaign of the summer of 1334, therefore the "fear for the harvest" factor is not sufficient to explain his appeal. After all, the Serbians had to retreat from Byzantine territory after the death of Syrgiannes, an indication that he played a more important role in the conquest process than a mere figurehead. If those elements can be taken to signify that Gregoras' version is closer to the truth (although undoubtedly exaggerated), we might wonder about the causes that gave Syrgiannes an internal following. Above all it is strange that the provinces and cities that had given their conclusive support to Andronikos III in 1227-28 would now be ready to support a rebel and one that was arriving at the side of the feared Kral of Serbia, for that matter. Unfortunately our information does not allow any further exploration of Syrgiannes' social appeal, nor does it support any connection with a particular aristocratic group. We could at best imagine that Syrgiannes had followers among the *stratiotai* of Macedonia, who do not appear at all during the revolt. Maybe the two major failures of Andronikos III's military policy, the attempt to fight off the Ottomans from Bithynia in 1329 and the attempt to attack Serbia with Bulgarian support in 1330[196] had alienated the army, or maybe the new emperor had been unable to keep up with the generous promises that he had made while fighting for the throne. The social background of Syrgiannes' revolt will have to remain obscure, like most of the information about the intriguing personality of the Grand Duke.

Another obscure conspiracy against Andronikos III was that hatched by a group of imperial relatives in 1335. The plot is only mentioned by Gregoras, whereas Kantakouzenos passes it in complete silence. According to that version, while Andronikos III and Kantakouzenos were in campaign against the Genoese lords of Phocaea certain aristocrats plotted to murder the empress and her children and assume the throne. Theodora

[196]See Bosch, *Andronikos III*, 74-75

Kantakouzene, who was administering affairs in the emperor's absence, managed somehow to prevent the realization of those plans. The conspirators were arrested only after the emperor's return and were put to trial in front of a court of officials and high aristocrats, the synod and certain prominent Constantinopolitans. The conspiracy was proven, but the emperor declined to punish those guilty, with the exception of "the sons of Asan", who were imprisoned. As we find out later, these were Manuel and John, sons of Andronikos Asan and Kantakouzenos' brothers-in-law. The Despot Demetrios, the emperor's uncle, was also implicated, but Andronikos III declined to pursue the accusation, accepting that he had entered the conspiracy with the intention to avert it[197]. Thus goes Gregoras' account. From a document of the patriarchal Synod, dating from 1377-78, we find out that a prominent role in the conspiracy had been played by Michael Asan, Andronikos' brother and the eldest son of the Despot John Asan, who had gained the support of the metropolitan of Philippoi. From the same document we learn the names of two lesser participants, followers of Michael Asan, who testified against the metropolitan: the *sebastos* John Trichas and Manuel Abramios, both *douloi* of the emperor. Abramios had apparently fallen in disgrace and was asking Asan either to intervene with the emperor or to take him as his own *oikeios*. According to his testimony, Michael was the person who would assume the throne if the conspiracy succeeded[198].

The story is curious from many aspects: how did Kantakouzene avert the conspiracy? Why did the emperor show such clemency to those who planned to assassinate his family? What was the role of the Despot Demetrios, who soon after the conspiracy contracted a marriage alliance with John Kantakouzenos, to whose son he gave his daughter? I think that we should exclude the possibility of a fabricated accusation. The affair was genuinely embarassing for Kantakouzenos, since it involved his wife's closest relatives. The Asan brothers would later become his major supporters during the civil war, which explains why

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[197]Greg.I, 530-534
[198]Patr,Reg.II **109**, 88-94

the whole affair is passed in silence. It is of course obvious that the main actors of the conspiracy, the Despot and the Asan family, were the remnants of the party that had opposed Andronikos III's succession in 1327-8. Was there an underground continuation of that party after the end of the civil war? At the end of 1334 the Despot Constantine died and, according to Gregoras, "he buried with himself the untimely expectations of many"[199]. It is surpising, however, that not only that party continued to exist but that it also attracted the two brothers who had until then been close supporters of the new regime, unlike the rest of their family (apart from the relationship with Kantakouzenos, John Asan was the son-in-law of Theodore Synadenos). It may be useful to remember that this occured at the lowest point of Andronikos III's reign, after a series of humiliating defeats and a rebellion that had demonstrated the fragility of his power and before the successes in the Aegean and in Epiros-Thessaly that would give a glorious tinge to the last years of that emperor.

There are indications that the reign of Andronikos III saw some slight but significant changes in the relation between the aristocracy and the emperor at the insitutional level. Andronikos, influenced perhaps by Western examples, but also by his personal connections with several prominent aristocrats, treated the aristocracy as his peers disregarding the age-old protocol of the Byzantine court to the great dismay of Nikephoros Gregoras[200]. Maybe it should be noted that one of the first acts of his reign, in 1329, was to establish the independent court of justice that both Michael VIII and Andronikos II had promised[201]. This did diminish the power of the emperor to influence minor cases: the dispute of John Laskaris and George Strategos over the former property of Theodore Padyates has been mentioned several times in earlier chapters. Twice the emperor had intervened in favor of Laskaris, ordering the Sekreton to hear his case. The new court, the Judges General, had the authority

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[199]Greg.I, 520
[200]Greg.I, 565-568. This necrology of Andronikos III is a surprisingly candid passage, where the historian reveals both his dislike for that emperor and belies Kantakouzenos' most fundamental claim (that he was the emperor's alter ego), by stating firmly that Andronikos did not listen to anyone's advice nor did he have any confidants.
[201]On the Judges General and their subsequent fate, see P. Lemerle, "Le Juge Général des grecs et la réforme judiciaire d' Andronic III", *Mémorial Louis Pétit*, Paris 1948 and I.Ševčenko, "Léon Bardalès et les juges généraux, ou la corruption des incorruptibles", *Byzantion* 19(1949), 247-259

to dismiss it and the emperor had to refer the case to the patriarchal court[202]. On the other hand, important cases, like those involving high treason, were still judged by special courts, formed by ecclesiastics and officials. This was the case with Syrgiannes and with the conspiracy of the Asan family. In the latter case it is worthy of notice that the court included ἔκκριτοι from the *demos*, the commoners. Unless the expression of Gregoras is an empty rhetorical scheme, we may have to do with the recognition of a role to the non-aristocratic strata that would not have pleased the aristocracy, especially the image of an emperor's grandchildren being judged by commoners[203]. The participation of the *ekkritoi* in such a trial could be offensive to the high aristocracy and may perhaps show that Andronikos III was not merely a pawn of his aristocratic collaborators[204]. The same emperor took a decision that ran contrary to a most cherished prerogative of the high aristocracy, their monopoly of military commands: towards the end of his reign he placed Alexios Apokaukos, his *mesazon*, in charge of the new fleet and of the naval operations that he planned to undertake in the Aegean.

The "middle" aristocracy that Alexios Apokaukos represented, those outside the circle of imperial relatives, including fiscal entrepreneurs like himself, was apparently favored under Andronikos III. Most surprisingly, the emperor allowed such aristocrats to proceed to the construction of private fortresses. Apokaukos had constructed for himself a practically impregnable fortress, Epibatai, just outside Constantinople. Another aristocrat of similar background, the *protokynegos* John Batatzes, had built a similar fortress in Teristasis, in Thrace[205]. This policy may have been dictated by the very bad financial situation in which the empire was found, in combination with the pressing external danger. Unable to sustain a

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[202]Patr.Reg.I **101**, 570-578; it is strange that the case was referred to the patriarchal court as "ecclesiastic", without any possible justification for that.
[203]I do not think that these *ekkritoi* would really be artisans or traders. More likely they would be low aristocrats, title-holders or *oikeioi*, people other than Gregoras' "senators", the aristocracy of the court.
[204]C.P.Kyrris, "Continuity and Differentiation in the Regime established by Andronicus III after his Victory of 23/24.V.1328", *EEBS* 43(1978), 278-328 makes a case for Andronikos III as an emperor of the popular strata, but he is mainly based on the narrative of the events of 1328, accepting many claims of Kantakouzenos that are meant to show how popular Andonikos III was. The subsequent reign of Andronikos III is not treated.
[205]Kantak.II, 475. It is specified that the fortress dated from the time of Andronikos III

large army, or to undertake any construction project, Andronikos may have entrusted to wealthy individuals the task of constructing fortresses in areas like Thrace, continuously ravaged by the Turks, for the protection of their wealth but also the people and properties of their estates. A similar policy of "privatization" of the empire's defense may lie behind Apokaukos' appointment to head the fleet. From the slanted narrative of Kantakouzenos it is possible to draw the conclusion that Apokaukos had financed himself the construction of part of the fleet. It would be very interesting to find similar instances as far as the land army was concerned, but this is not possible. A case like Hrelja, the Serbian warlord who was ruling independently the area of the upper Strymon, under the shadowy quality of an imperial official was obviously exceptional. The imperial army, weakened as it appears after 1328, maintained its centralized structure and did not evolve into a mosaic of the personal armies of great feudal lords.

The civil war (1341-1347)[206]

The great civil war of 1341-1347 is in may ways a unique case, even among the kind of events that are being studied here. More than any other internal unrest of the late period it lends itself to interpretations connecting it to social strife and more particularly to an antagonism between social classes. It is also remarkable because in few other cases have such elaborate schemes of social and political dynamics been traced on the basis of such poor

[206]Although there exists a very large bibliography around particular aspects of the civil war, there is no detailed and critical narrative of the events; van Dieten's commentary on Gregoras is perhaps the closest substitute. As for the social aspects of the civil war, Matschke's *Fortschritt und Reaktion* is the most comprehensive and -to my opinion- penetrating treatment, although somewhat hindered by a terminology influenced by Marxian historical determinism (e.g. "Etappe der Evolution des byzantinischen Feudalismus"). Matschke saw the civil war as a coflict between factions of the great landowning aristocracy (the "feudal class"), that acted as a catalyst for other social classes to promote their interests, e.g. the low feudal aristocracy of the *stratiotai*, the urban proletariate, the seamen, etc. The most "progressive" element in this struggle was represented by the enterprising urban classes, including a part of the aristocracy, that were involved in trade and advocated a maritime expansion; their political representative was Alexios Apokaukos. My own conclusions often agree with Matschke's, but I am trying to argue that the connection between the emerging class of tradesmen and financiers to any specific party during the war, or even to the urban riots is not supported by the evidence. G.Weiss, *Kantakuzenos*, places emphasis on a factor that Matshcke downplays, but that I consider very imporant, the personal circle of relationships, clientelae and alliances of aristocrats such as John Kantakouzenos. Weiss's work is by no means supplanted by the latest addition to the bibliography, D. Nicol's *The Reluctant Emperor*, Cambridge 1996, that, apart from some interesting chronological and prosopographical comments, is essentially an abridgement of Kantakouzenos' narrative.

documentation. Our main sources for the social appeal and political behavior of the two main rival parties in the civil war are essentially the two historians, Gregoras and Kantakouzenos, who here more than in any other instance display their bias and talent for distortion. For the most important aspect of the social strife during this period, the involvement of the urban middle classes, we have to admit that we are completely in the dark regarding their ideology or political program. The behavior of the famous "Zealot" party that assumed temporarily control of Thessalonica can only be reconstructed thanks to occasional remarks in contemporary authors (e.g. Gregory Palamas, Demetrios Kydones and perhaps Thomas Magistros) but most importantly through the accounts of the two historians; all of these sources are markedly hostile and focus on the bloody riots that brought the Zealots to power, but do not tell much about their policies once they were in control. Reconstructing the events of the civil war one by one would require a very long and detailed process of source critique and even then the reconstruction would only remain tentative. In the following account I will try to focus on certain specific questions, namely: how did the high aristocracy behave during the civil war? Was the political program of the regency in Constantinople anti-aristocratic? Did the two opposing sides favor different policies, corresponding to the interests of different social groups? What was the social background of the urban revolts?

The question of the causes that led to the initial outbreak of the war should be briefly discussed. The issue is important not because it is the historian's job to incriminate or pronounce verdicts, but because establishing who took the initiative may affect our interpretation of the social dynamics lying behind each party. In other words, if we accept the general point of view presented by Kantakouzenos and -to a degree- by Gregoras, that is, that Alexios Apokaukos deliberately sought to disturb an established balance in order to promote his own projects, we may justifiedly seek behind Apokaukos the interests of social groups that were dissatisfied with the status quo and desired a change of course. On the other hand, if the conflict began through the behavior of Kantakouzenos, the whole affair takes a more personal tone: Kantakouzenos, the "strong man" of the previous regime, would not have

political reasons to attack the status quo, other than personal ambition with regard to the throne. In the same way, the reaction to him could be explained through the prism of loyalism, without necessarily needing justification from particular social pressures. Of course in either case, once the war began, each side relied on particular elements within society in order to promote its cause, but this should be dissociated frome the question of the initial causes.

The accounts of the events after Andronikos III's death in 1341 are written with the clear intention to place the blame for whatever happened to Alexios Apokaukos, but reading through them it is possible to shift much of the responsibility to John Kantakouzenos. A few occurences may point to that. Already while Andronikos III was breathing his last, Kantakouzenos placed the heir and his brother under guard in the palace[207]. This may have been a reasonable measure of precaution, in view of the earlier conspiracies, but it is noticeable that the guard was composed in part by the Grand Domestic's *oikeioi* while there is mo mention of the empress Anne; had she given her consent to the act it would probably have been mentioned by Kantakouzenos in his subsequent "apology" about this[208]. He himself states that immediately after the emperor's death he started writing instructions to provincial governors and others, sending more than 500 letters per day[209]. This appears as an attempt to assume the duties of a regent without any legal grounds. Andronikos III had not appointed a regent before his death. The patriarch John Kalekas evoked the arrangements that the emperor had made before his departure to fight against Syrgiannes in 1334, by which he (the patriarch) was designated as regent (*epitropos*) in the eventuality of the emperor's death[210]. Kantakouzenos tried to counter the argument, stating that the emperor assigned the regency to the patriarch because he was certain that the faithful Grand Domestic, who

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207 Greg.II, 576; Kantak.II, 14

208 Kantak.II, 40. The apology is focused on the fact that he subsequently removed the guard from the palace, confirming indirectly that at first he had placed the children under his full control.

209 Kantak.II, 14-15

210 Greg.II, 579. The exact content of the emperor's provisions is revealed in the supposed reply of John Kantakouzenos (Greg.II, 582-583), where there is clear mention of ἐπιτροπίας γράμματα.

accompanied him in his campaign, would not possibly survive him. He added that in any case, these provisions concerned only that period and could not be considered valid.

Both arguments are weak: even if Andronikos III expected that Kantakouzenos would die with him, it would not have hurt to name him as first choice for the regency; moreover, the fact that Andronikos, seriously ill for several months before his death, did not leave any new instructions concerning his succession is a good indication that he considered the written arrangement of 1334 valid. There is therefore good reason to believe that the emperor assigned, if not the regency, the protection of his children to the patriarch. Not a surprising choice, if we consider that he wanted to keep the heir above factional strife within the aristocracy. Andronikos III probably had not expected that his arrangements would be challenged by his closest collaborator.

The arguments that Gregoras attributes to Kantakouzenos may indicate the Grand Domestic's intentions at the moment: he claimed that many times the emperor had assigned to him the regency in the eventuality of his death, and that Andronikos had promised to marry his son and heir to Kantakouzenos' daughter[211]. Kantakouzenos himself, who tries to show that he wanted to avoid even the regency, does not admit to using such arguments. If he did, they were probably weak as well: in Gregoras' version he evokes as witness the empress Anne. Her response is not cited, but Anne's behavior indicates that she did not agree with either argument. What Gregoras is saying in essence is that Kantakouzenos demanded both the regency and the marriage of the new emperor to his daughter, without any legitimacy whatsoever and after having already placed the child under his control. The next important event was an armed riot that reached the palace grounds forcing the Grand Domestic's opponents and the empress herself to "become his pityful suppliants"[212]. The rioters added to

[211] Greg.II, 580. The term προεμνηστεύσατο does not mean that an engagement had already taken place: see p.583-4, where the Grand Domestic asks for a quick engagement.

[212] Greg.II, 586-587; Kantak., II, 84ff, places the riot at a later moment, after Apokaukos retreat in Epibatai, and attributes to the rioters a different demand, the conferring of imperial honors to Kantakouzenos. We may have to do with two different events, but it is possible that one of the authors, probably Gregoras, reports the riot earlier than it happened. It is possible that the factor that forced Kantakouzenos' opponents to aknowledge his power in the first days was not this riot, but his control over the young emperor and his brother.

their customary oath of loyalty to the emperor the name of "the regent Kantakouzenos". From that point until his departure from Constantinople Kantakouzenos appears to have been in control of the situation, although the exact agreement cannot be retrieved from the confused information of the sources.

His major actions as regent were to opt for war with Bulgaria and to proceed to a general *exisosis* with the assistance of the businessman Patrikiotes. The second affair has been discussed above and apparently it aimed at favoring Kantakouzenos' supporters in the army and providing him with a solid following in that body. The Bulgarian war was a less obvious choice. One would imagine that Kantakouzenos would prefer to settle his affairs in conditions of external peace and not distance himself from the capital. The fragility of the agreement with his opponents was demonstrated by the fact that Alexios Apokaukos, head until then of the fleet, was involved in activities that forced him to seek refuge in his fortress of Epibatai and Kantakouzenos to interrupt his campaign preparations and rush back to Constantinople[213]. We cannot know what was really said and agreed, but the outcome was the reconciliation of Kantakouzenos and Apokaukos and the latter's departure for the front. Kantakouzenos' campaign was not the mistake of judgement that he himself tries to insinuate. His position inside Constantinople was uncertain, while through the campaign he got in head of a strong and loyal army[214]. We cannot know his intended next step; he may have wanted to advance against Bulgaria first and buttress his claims by some military victory. In any case, his most probable final destination would have been Constantinople. The possibility of perfidy on the part of his opponents should not have scared him; he might even have welcomed it as a chance to get rid of those who stood in his way. In fact, for those who do not want to accept the theory of Kantakouzenos' kindly naiveté, his behavior can only be explained if he felt really secure about his position in 1341. His opponents had little to rely upon except for the fleet, not of much help if he advanced against the capital. He could

[213]Greg.II, 599-604; Kantak.II, 71-74, 87ff.
[214]According to Gregoras, after the outbreak of the war it numbered 2,000 *logades* (select heavy cavalry) and about 4,000 other soldiers (II, 614).

particularly count on the adherence of the provinces. Several kephalai had already come to his camp: the *pinkernes* John Angelos, Arsenios Tzamplakon and Constantine Palaiologos had even greeted him as an emperor[215]. He claims that he was assured of the support of Theodore Synadenos, governor of Thessalonica. Even those not friendly to him, like Guy de Lusignan in Serrai[216], would be unlikely to resist him and his army with their limited resources and certainly with groups of Kantakouzenos' supporters within the cities. There were no important foreign sources of support for his enemies[217]. Surrounded by Kantakouzenists and under the supervision of the grand Domestic's powerful mother Theodora, the empress and the patriarch were in an almost hopeless position. In their despair they sought the support of a hidden power that Kantakouzenos had probably not calculated: the urban masses of the empire. It may be reasonable to give credit to Alexios Apokaukos as the architect of this policy, spectacularly succesful at first, but that would have serious consequences.

In September-October 1341 the members of Kantakouzenos' family who were in Constantinople were placed under arrest and orders were dispatched to him to lay down his command. Several of his close collaborators left the city and their houses were looted. On the 26th of October Kantakouzenos was proclaimed emperor in Didymoteichon. It is not certain that the crown had been his aim from the beginning; perhaps initially he hoped to hold on to power as John V's father-in-law and regent. Maybe the coronation was a means to focus on his person the loyalty of the army, now that he had been declared a rebel. In other ways, however, especially regarding his appeal to the population of the empire at large, the imperial proclamation may have harmed his cause, making him appear as a direct challenger of the young emperor's right and an affront to dynastic legitimacy. Already before the proclamation the two sides had begun sending messages to the cities of the empire asking for their

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215 Kantak.II, 77-78

216 Greg.II, 623 : Significantly, Guy was the son-in-law of Syrgiannes

217 Serbia and Bulgaria were already attacking the empire, but apparently were not in a position to make serious inroads (Kantak.II, 79). Of the Turkish emirates, Aydin and the Ottomans had good relations with Kantakouzenos. Saruhan was in war with the Empire, but had already suffered a defeat by the *epi tou stratou* Senachereim that year (Kantak.II, 77)

allegiance. Kantakouzenos states that he placed his hopes on the *dynatoi* of the cities and the local *stratiotai*[218]. It appears likely that these two interconnected groups, the local petty aristocracy and the military, would be more likely than any other to support Kantakouzenos: as their behavior during the civil war of 1327-28 and perhaps during the revolt of Syrgiannes had shown, they were inclined to support pretenders who promised to augment their grants or to extend various privileges over properties that they already held. A network of personal relationships, a sort of clientelage perhaps, must have connected members of those groups to Kantakouzenos personally, but it is not very clear how it worked. However, on several occasions we hear about those "friends" of Kantakouzenos who seem to exist everywhere in the empire[219]. They were probably the main target of the loyalist reaction in 1341-42. The support of the high aristocracy, however, should not be taken for granted. Few commanders of cities declared themselves openly for the pretender, although some, like Theodore Synadenos, may have waited for the arrival of his army. The list of the two parties shows that the high aristocrats were split in the first months of the war (although the fact that Kantakouzenos is more prone to cite the names of his own supporters -even the less important ones- accounts for the difference in quantity). It should also be noted that the pretender's aristocratic following consisted largely of close relatives, such as the Asan brothers, John Angelos, Nikephoros Kantakouzenos and Manuel Tarchaneiotes[220], or long-time collaborators, such as Arsenios Tzamplakon. These had supported Kantakouzenos from the beginning, hoping that his regency would guarantee them a prominence that would be uncertain in the hands of new centers of power, such as the empress Anne or the patriarch. These would also remain faithful to him and follow him in exile later. Aristocrats who had been collaborators of Kantakouzenos, but enjoyed a more independent personal standing were less enthusiastic in their choice. Examples of this attitude are Theodore Synadenos, Constantine Palaiologos, John Batatzes, or even John Rhaoul Gabalas, who fled

[218]Kantak.II, 162
[219]E.g. Kalothetos in Chios (Kantak.I, 371), Kabasilas in Epeiros (Ibid.,513) or Armpenos in Western Macedonia (Ibid.II, 350). See Weiss, *Kantakuzenos*, 138-155 on the network of Kantakouzenos' relationships
[220]On Manuel's kinship to Kantakouzenos see Greg.II, 652

Constantinople with the pro-Kantakouzenists only to return soon afterwards and take part in the loyalist government.

At that point occured the urban revolts that tipped the scales against Kantakouzenos. He himself presents the riots through a very general scheme: in all cities the *aristoi* or *oligoi* supported his cause, while the *demos*, led by the lowest elemests, violently opposed them[221]. It should be noted that -with the occasional exception of *dynatoi*- the terms used are not the terms by which Kantakouzenos standardly denotes the aristocracy (*eugeneis, synkletikoi*, etc.) but are directly borrowed out of the terminology of the Peloponnesian war, where -significantly- they do not denote social classes but political parties. Gregoras uses different terms to denote the two opposed groups, without necessarily being more accurate: it was "the wise against the fools; those distinguished for wealth and glory against those lacking both; those who had been raised with a noble education against those who were beyond the bounds of any education; the thoughtful and orderly against the toughtless and rebellious and those rejoicing in blood. All that was best went his way, all that was worst supported those in Byzantium". Although the attributes of the Kantakouzenists included "descent (*genos*) and wealth and glory", these are just part of a schematic broader image of which we should be suspicious[222]. There is no doubt that both authors present the Kantakouzenists as the party of the aristocracy and the loyalists as the party of the popular strata. Certainly, Kantakouzenos must have had few sympathies among the common people, while those who had reasons to support him were either aristocrats, or important citizens, members of his network of alliances and patronage. But this does not mean that an aristocrat was by reason of his status alone more likely to support Kantakouzenos, or that the people attacked the aristocracy indiscriminately, using loyalism as a mere pretext.

The events in Adrianople, Kantakouzenos' first major target and the first city that refused to accept him, are not described in much detail[223]. Kantakouzenos cites the names of

[221] Kantak.II, 177, 180
[222] Greg.II, 613
[223] Kantak.II, 176

those who incited the riots, an indication that he may have had good information, perhaps from investigations undertaken after he had later taken control of the city. Unfortunately he does not give the names of his own supporters, so we do not really know who were the "δυνατοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν" who wanted to hand the city over to him. At first the debate was kept peaceful, but one night certain working-class people went from house to house and incited a riot against the *dynatoi*. The houses of the latter were raided and they were arrested, with the exception of a few who entered the city akropolis and stayed there protected by a guard.

Although Kantakouzenos emphasizes that one of the leaders of the revolt, Branos, was a labourer[224], he does not insist on the other two, Mougdouphes and Phrangopoulos. Later on, after the capture of Adrianople by Kantakouzenos in 1346, Kantakouzenos says that he ordered all the *strateuomenoi* (presumably an equivalent of *stratiotai*) of the city to enlist in his army, but exempted the three conspirators of 1341 so that he would not appear vindictive[225].

Can we deduce that the three were *stratiotai*? Kantakouzenos says that "they were completely untrained for military service and no better than those who have never known what weapons are", which apparently means that they were not *stratiotai*, but may also mean that they were worthless *stratiotai*. In any case, Phrangopoulos was forced to follow the army although he was very sick, but provided a great service to the pretender when he recognized a Constantinopolitan renegade to whom he was acquainted. The man confided to Phrangopoulos that he had come to assassinate Kantakouzenos, but Phrangopoulos, whose political attitude had apparently changed, revealed everything and was rewarded by Kantakouzenos. He does not appear again in the history of the civil war, but in 1361 a certain "Jane Francopolos"(Phrangopoulos) from Adrianople appears in the records of a Genoese notary in Chilia, at the estuary of the Danube. This Phrangopoulos had invested a

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224 Kantak.II, 176: "σκαπάνῃ προσέχων καὶ χερσὶ καὶ γλίσχρως ἐκ τούτων πορίζόμενος τὸν βίον"
225 Kantak.II, 557

considerable capital in a variety of commercial ventures[226]. An identification is not impossible, although the name Phrangopoulos is very common at the time. The common geographical origin may at least indicate that we have to do with relatives. But should we believe that Phrangopoulos was a businessman already in 1341? The fact that he had acquaintances in Constantinople may indicate long-range professional activities (although the person in question was a cook), but it could be explained equally well, or better, if Phrangopoulos was a *stratiotes*. Phrangopoulos was not a peasant and was not a great aristocrat, but he could have belonged to any social group between those two prior to 1346. If thanks to Kantakouzenos' gratefulness Phrangopoulos became rich and, like so many others after the war, he invested his money in trade, it does not necessarily mean that he was a merchant in 1341, or that he is representative of the political attitude of the entrepreneurial middle class during the events of that year.

It is not clear whether the rebels assumed the government in Adrianople. It is perfectly believable that there were phenomena such as looting and violence, but it shoud be noted that, even according to Kantakouzenos' description, the city did not fall into anarchy: the arrested Kantakouzenists were dispatched to Constantinople without any harm and when the Bulgarian tsar invaded Thrace he hoped that he could bribe the *archontes* of the city[227]. Gregoras mentions the "τυραννήσαντας δημότας", implying a "popular regime" of some kind. But he also mentions the parallel existence of προύχοντες some of whom plotted to open the gates for Kantakouzenos. Kantakouzenos, describing the same incident mentions the *archontes*, probably the people who still had the administration of the city, as was evident from the incident with the Bulgarians. Gregoras was poorly informed about the situation in Adrianople and, in any case, he was mainly interested in describing the failure of Kantakouzenos to cross the frozen Maritza, a sign of God's anger at the usurper[228]. After the

[226]Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion*, 182-183; A.Laiou, "The Greek Merchant of the Palaiologan Period: A Collective Portrait",*Praktika Akademias Athenon* 57/1(1982), 114; Eadem, "Byzantine Economy", 197; Oikonomidès, *Hommes d' affaires*, 65

[227]Kantak.II, 179-180

[228]Greg.II, 620-621; another passage where Gregoras makes it sure that his *real* opinion about Kantakouzenos is understood by the reader

arrival of reinforcements from Constantinople those who had been fortified in the akropolis were accused of the plot in favor of Kantakouzenos, were forced to surrender and sent to the capital as prisoners. Apparently these were a group around the unnamed governor of the city who is not mentioned at all in either version, but who probably was the only one who could command a guard. Until the arrival of the reinforcements and the revelation of the plot there was no open conflict between the group around the governor (or whoever else guarded the akropolis) and the people, although his situation must have been very uneasy. His actions concerning the prisoners of the first wave of rioting or the Bulgarians indicate that he was still governing the city, but was under the pressure of the popular element. In any case, the information about a "popular regime" in Adrianople should not be accepted and perhaps Gregoras refers just to that pressure and nothing more[229].

The initiative for the attacks on those suspected throughout the empire did not necessarily come from the low classes: in Eastern Macedonia, for example, it was the *kephale* Guy de Lusignan who confiscated their properties, making in the process a profit for himself[230]. The documents from Karakalla and Philotheou concerning Margarites and Choumnos give a more realistic image of the activities of Guy than that presented by Gregoras[231]. What they show is the reattribution of properties that had belonged to Kantakouzenos and his followers to aristocrats loyal to the imperial government. Those who lose their property include (apart from the pretender himself and his close allies, Arsenios Tzamplakon and Nikephoros Kantakouzenos) some low aristocrats, such as Manuel Dioiketes, Demetrios Pharmakes and Maurophoros. From them only Pharmakes is mentioned before 1341: he was already a member of Kantakouzenos' circle, sent by the Grand Domestic in 1339 together with others in oder to examine *in situ* a case concerning Hilandar[232]. Those who benefited were the two Margaritai, John and George, and the

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[229]The existence of that regime is accepted by Charanis, "Internal Strife in Byzantium during the Fourteenth Century",*Byzantion* XV(1941), 209-210
[230]Greg.II, 623
[231]Kravari, *Philothéou* **2**, 291-298; Lemerle, "Karakala"; Philothée **VIII**, 22-23=Dölger, *Schatzkammer*, 42-43 (a later document of 1344, but the initial confiscation probably took place in 1341-2)
[232]Chil. **130**, 272

stratopedarches John Choumnos. These were not "new people". John Margarites was an *oikeios* who already held imperial grants before the war[233] and Choumnos is probably a relation of George Choumnos, the Grand Stratopedarch and prominent opponent of Kantakouzenos. The documents therefore do not indicate an attack on the aristocracy in general, but the disgrace of the party of a rebel in favor of loyal individuals within the aristocratic group. Within the context of the popular manifestations of support for the legitimate emperor, the aristocrats of the rebel party became officially fair game for some elements of the populace of the cities. But there is no evident anti-aristocratic colour in those events and, more noticeably, no mention whatsoever of the *bourgeoisie* or of any kind of middle class in the Thracian cities.

The failure to win over Adrianople and the cities of Thrace, combined with the Bulgarian advance, marked the beginning of the end for Kantakouzenos' enterprize, as Gregoras shrewdly noted[234]. The part of the army that had blockaded Constantinople by land was dissolved and many changed sides. This allowed a Constantinopolitan army to reinforce the defenses of the Thracian cities, including Adrianople, and use them as a base to attack the areas controlled by Kantakouzenists. In the spring of 1342, after a failed attempt to conquer Peritheorion in Thrace, Kantakouzenos set off for the West, in the hope that Theodore Synadenos would deliver Thessalonica to him. By the time Kantakouzenos arrived in Thessalonica the *protostrator* had been expelled by a popular riot that made known for the first time the name of the Zealots.

According to Kantakouzenos' description, at that time the "Zealots" were simply the loyalist party inside Thessalonica. From the beginning of the civil war Theodore Synadenos had refused to openly take sides with Kantakouzenos, but neither did he join the forces of the other two general Kephalai of the West, Guy de Lusignan and Michael Senachereim Monomachos of Thessaly. This suspect neutrality displeased a party of citizens who,

[233]Guillou, *Ménécée* 36, 119
[234]Greg.II, 262:"ἐπὶ μανδραβόλου τὰ ἐκείνου διηνεκῶς ἐχώρει"

brandishing crosses and calling themselves the Zealots, demanded that the city openly support the rights of John V. Because of Synadenos' inertia -says Kantakouzenos- the Zealots grew in importance and incited the people to revolt (this passage makes it clear that the Zealots were a party, not a social or professional group)[235]. When it was found out that Kantakouzenos was advancing against the city, Synadenos' complicity became obvious and a revolt broke out. Synadenos was supported by the *stratiotai* of the city and by the "*dynatoi* among the citizens" (later called the *aristoi)*, in all a group of about 1,000. After some skirmishes Synadenos and his suporters fled the city (Gregoras only mentions Synadenos and the *stratiotai* of Thessalonica, without the *dynatoi*). The rioters' victory was followed by looting. Again, in spite of Kantakouzenos' wording it does not appear likely that the Thessalonian upper classes supported him *en masse* and were chased from the city in 1342, although his followers probably belonged to the upper classes. In any case, most of the one thousand who left must have been soldiers. The reasons for the attack were above all political: soon afterwards most of the fugitives would abandon Kantakouzenos and would return to their city, with apparently no problem[236]. There is no reason to speak of "popular government" at that moment. Even if there was a power vacuum after the expulsion of Synadenos, it only lasted a few days until the arrival of the army of Guy de Lusignan and the fleet of Alexios Apokaukos. The particular social appeal of the Zealots at this moment is not clear. Kantakouzenos says that the Zealots used to be *penestatoi*, very poor, and *atimoi*, dishonorable, but became rich and prominent through their activity. He also says that they turned to the *mesoi* among the citizens and either forced them to take part in their ugly deeds, or denounced them as Kantakouzenist. The *mesoi* may be the wealthy class below the high aristocracy (like the *mesotes* in Makrembolites' dialogue), or a broader middle-class group[237]. But in any case, the passage indicates that this group did not have a firm political orientation and was divided in its sympathies.

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[235]Kantak.II, 233-235
[236]Kantak.II, 241, 246
[237]See Oikonomidès, *Hommes d' affaires*, 115-118

After the failure to take over Thessalonica, Kantakouzenos' prospects declined rapidly. By the approach of the winter of 1342 his revolt had clearly failed and he was forced to seek refuge in Serbia with a following much smaller than the army that he had been leading until then. Within the empire his followers continued to hold control of Didymoteichon and Melnik, but it is clear that the rebellion was kept alive only thanks to the self-interested sponsoring of Stephen Dušan. In the coming years Kantakouzenos, with foreign support, would be able to profit from internal tensions that were developng in the empire independently of him. But this represents a rather different phase of the civil war. As far as the first phase is concerned, the attempt of Kantakouzenos to get hold of the reins of the empire and its failure cannot be seen as a confrontation of the aristocracy as a class with the imperial power or with other social groups. Kantakouzenos appealed to a particular party within the aristocracy, a party whose formation should be explained through personal links of patronage rather than through common political aims. There is no evidence that Kantakouzenos and his opponents advocated different political orientations for the empire. The main direction in foreign policy was set by Andronikos III during the last few years of his reign and included the acceptance of the situation in Asia Minor, the normalization of relations with the Turkish emirates and the active expansion in the Greek peninsula and the Aegean sea. This policy had been served both by Kantakouzenos, who had led the operations for the annexation of Epiros, and by Apokaukos, who had financed and commanded the fleet. It is not unlikely that Apokaukos, who after all was a businessman, viewed the expansion in the Aegean as an opportunity for getting involved in the trade of the area, and this policy should have the support of local *dynatoi*- entrepreneurs, such as Kalothetos in Chios[238]. But this policy did not run counter to the interests of the landed aristocracy, of which Apokaukos and others like him formed part. The creation of a strong fleet had become absolutely necessary for the defense of Thrace from Turkish raids and was essential to any plans for reconquest of Southern Greece and the Morea. Kantakouzenos' Bulgarian campaign should

[238]See also the less known case of Skylitzes, mentioned by Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion*, 224-225

not be seen as a rejection of the foreign policy existing till then. Its aim was to impose a peace that would secure Thrace from raiding and, in any case, it is likely that Kantakouzenos assembled the army with an eye on the internal struggle for power. The urban riots did not aim at promoting any particular socio-political agenda either. Their targets were the supporters of Kantakouzenos, who perhaps included mostly members of the local aristocracies, but the revolts did not attack these aristocracies as a whole, or the high imperial aristocracy[239]. Both in Adrianople and Thessalonica the end of the rebellion was marked by the arrival of loyalist troops and the imposition of a new administration by the Constantinopolitan government. In neither case do we hear of popular demands other than the support of the orphaned John V against the excommunicated usurper who threatened, as it was believed, his life and throne.

It should be noted that Kantakouzenos' rebellion did have some appeal in the areas West and Southwest of Thessalonica. The most notable event was the adherence of Thessaly to his side, sometime in 1342. Unfortunately the authors tell us little about the reasoning that led to this decision or about the political process through which the decision was taken. It would be possible to surmise that in the former lands of the "Despotate" the political power of local potentates was much greater than in the cities of Macedonia and Thrace, where the presence of the imperial administration had put a barrier to its growth. Furthermore, as the almost contemporary example of Phanarion demonstrates[240], in that predominantly agicultural area there was no significant middle class between the local landowning "archons" and the peasantry. But the attitude of the Thessalians can also be explained by other factors besides internal social stratification. The population of Thessaly had no attachment to the Palaiologan dynasty, whose rule had been imposed only recently. Kantakouzenos granted them what they obviously wanted more, political autonomy: by his famous chrysobull of .

239Note that Kantak.II, 298 attributes many of the urban atrocities to the initiative of city governors, who were of course aristocrats themselves.

240MM V, 260-261; on the dating see A.Solovjev, "Thessalijskie archonty v XIV veke", *BS* IV(1932), 163; see also C.P. Kyrris, "The social status of the archontes of Phanari in Thessaly", Ἑλληνικά 18(1964) 73-78

1342/3[241] Kantakouzenos created the first real Byzantine "appanage", under his cousin John Angelos[242]. The new lord would rule Thessaly independently until his death and the same status would be maintained under his successor. The only obligation was to provide full military assistance to the emperor's operations West of Christoupolis. The deal should have satisfied the local lords, who would thus be protected from the expansion into Thessaly of the imperial aristocracy[243] and the peace with Kantakouzenos gave them protection from the raids of his allies, the Aydin Turks, the only ones who had the possibility to cross the Aegean and attack Thessaly. In the same way, the acceptance of Kantakouzenos by the inhabitants of Berroia, Servia and other cities of Western Macedonia should rather be explained -and both historians agree with that- by the imminent danger of a conquest by Stephen Dušan who had already conquered Edessa and the inability of the imperial forces to be of any assistance.

In 1343 the emir Umur of Aydin, allied to Kantakouzenos, landed in Macedonia and began looting the countryside around Thessalonica. This resulted in famine and internal tension in the city. It should be noted that at the same time famine hit Constantinople, due to the sudden outbreak of the Genoese-Tatar war and the closing of the Black Sea route of grain supply, in combination with the devastation of the Thracian countryside[244]. The violent outbursts that occured in Thessalonica around that time may have to do with that situation: the Zealots slaughtered an *aristos* by the name of Palaiologos and a *mesos* by the name of Gabalas, while they mutilated and expelled from the city another group of people that they

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[241]Kant.II, 312-322; on the issue of its authenticity see H.Hunger, "Urkunden und Memoirentext: der Chrysobullos Logos des Johannes Kantakuzenos für Johannes Angelos", *JÖB*, 26(1978), 107-125; see also L.Mavrommates, *Οἱ πρῶτοι Παλαιολόγοι*, Athens 1983, 107-110, discussing earlier bibliography and arguing that this was not an "appanage". Although the term in the strict technical sense may be wrong, the obligation to provide an army was perfectly corresponding to the feudal *auxilium* and was not a sign of superimposition of imperial control, as the author argues.

[242]The choice of Angelos may have had to do with a family relationship to the former local dynasty. In any case, Angelos' wife was descended from the Despot Michael II. See PLP 204.

[243]It should be noted that in spite of the autonomy, some of Kantakouzenos' dispossessed followers followed Angelos in Thessaly. One of them was Manuel Dioiketes, a victim of Guy's confiscations in 1342, who became *kephale* of Trikkala (Solovjev/Mošin, *Povelje*, 224)

[244]Greg.II, 683

accused of Kantakouzenism[245]. Both Kantakouzenos and Gregoras attribute the atrocities to a desire to terrorize the citizens who had been thinking of delivering the city to Kantakouzenos in order to stop Umur's destruction. According to Gregoras the main motive was the destruction of agricultural properties held by several citizens[246]. According to Kantakouzenos it was Umur's promise to liberate his Thessalonian prisoners if the city surrendered[247]. Let it be noted that the riots were not strictly speaking anti-aristocratic. The ownership of rural property around Thessalonica was by no means restricted to the aristocracy, as we know from the Athonite documents[248]. The victims of the riots were probably well-to-do, but cannot be certainly situated among the aristocracy of titles and offices. The exact sense of the expressions *aristoi, mesoi, demos* is not very clear to me. Naturally they broadly correspond to some sort of social stratification, but it is not evident whether a low-ranking official of the fisc, for example, would belong to the first or the second category. The way Kantakouzenos refers to the two victims of the riots ("a certain Palaiologos", "a certain Gabalas") indicates at least that they were not members of the high imperial aristocracy, in which case the author would have probably mentioned their family connections.

While Kantakouzenos was struggling for his political survival, the loyalist camp began to show rifts[249]. It appears that Alexios Apokaukos, who did not have any constitutional power as did Anne or even John Kalekas, but as commander of the fleet and governor of the city of Constantinople was in control of the armed forces within the city,

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245Kantak.II, 393-394; Greg.II, 674-675
246Greg.II, 673-674
247Kantak.II, 393
248See the list of lay proprietors in Laiou, *Peasant Society*, app.I; also the remarks in Ch.II of the present work, concerning the middle class families that provided many members of the low and middle aristocracy, and in Ch.III concerning the common chrysobulls of Thessalonica.
249On the situation in Constantinople under Apokaukos see Lj.Maksimović, "The Regency of Alexius Apocaucus and Social Movements in Constantinople", *ZRVI* XVIII(1978), 165-188 (Serbocr. with English summary). According to the author, the discontent of the people of Constantinople was directed by Apokaukos against particular aristocrats who were his political enemies, but the Grand Duke's regime was neither anti-aristocratic, nor popular. I agree, but I would not use the fact that under Apokaukos "the assembly of the populace of the city was convoked only one time" as evidence for the character of the regime (p.188)

became the target of other aristocrats for various reasons. His mistreatment of aristocratic people suspected of Kantakouzenism, such as the widow of Michael Asan[250], may have caused the displeasure of other high aristocrats, and the same may have been true about Apokaukos' military activities, a field of action that the high aristocracy wanted to reserve for themselves.

The existence of the fleet apparently became a point of discord at that time: before the civil war its creation made sense, but now it was too costly for the strained state finances and of dubious usefulness in the war agaisnt Kantakouzenos[251]. The critics, who included Apokaukos' relative George Choumnos, may have been right: during the first years of the war the fleet did little else but serve as a transportation means for the Grand Duke's travelling between Constantinople and Thessalonica. The reappearence of Kantakouzenos in Didymoteichon in 1343 with a Turkish army could be seen as a failure of the Grand Duke's policy. On the other hand the sailors were the only real support that Alexios Apokaukos had in the internal struggle for power and he was not willing to lose it. It is possible that he deliberately advocated an extreme position of accusing his opponents of Kantakouzenism in order to destroy them. It should be noted, however, that he could hardly imprison great aristocrats without the consent of the empress, who must have supported Apokaukos. Among the first to be imprisonned were George Choumnos and Constantine Asan with their sons[252]. But Apokaukos had also his allies among the great aristocracy, more notably his son-in-law, the *protostrator* Andronikos Palaiologos, and Andronikos' father Constantine, a son of the Despot Michael Angelos. The patriarch and the *mesazon* John Gabalas also supported him. But the accidental death of Andronikos Palaiologos in the summer of 1344 must have seriously hurt the Grand Duke's position: it is indicative that without him he was forced to abandon his campaign against Didymoteichon, where Kantakouzenos was in a very

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[250]Kantak.II, 299
[251]Kantak.II, 325; the importance of the fleet both as a cause of conflict and as an instrument of power was pointed by K.P. Matschke, "Johannes Kantakuzenos, Alexios Apokaukos und die byzantinische Flotte in der Bürgerkriegsperiode 1340-1355", *Actes du XIVe congrès international des études byzantines*, Bucarest 1975, 193-205 (for this particular phase, see p.197)
[252]Kantak.II, 336

vulnerable position after Umur's departure. Soon after that the *mesazon* John Gabalas had a conflict with Apokaukos and was forced to seek refuge in Hagia Sophia and assume the monastic habit[253]. By 1345 the internal insecurity had not allowed the loyalist party any large scale activity in Thrace and many cities began surrendering to Kantakouzenos in the hope of finding relief from the destruction of the area by his Turkish allies[254].

In this difficult situation it appears that Apokaukos turned to various sources of money in order to finance the fleet, including trying to collect tolls from ships sailing through the Bosphorus and imposing contributions of money. The latter measure, according to Kantakouzenos, did not spare the aristocracy. Although it is not necessary to accept Kantakouzenos' assertion that Apokaukos intended to abandon the empire's landed possessions and turn Constantinople into a maritime city supported by trade, it is true that this coincided with the shaking of the Genoese domination of the Black sea because of the war with the Tatars and with the development of a more active interest in trade activities by the Byzantines[255]. But control of the sea was also the only way by which Kantakouzenos could be deprived of his main force, the Turks of Umur. The only alternative would be coming to terms with Kantakouzenos; it is likely that many aristocrats must have supported a compromise. This, however, would endanger the prospects of John V holding on to the throne and was strongly opposed by the empress Anne who lent her support to Apokaukos[256]. Many aristocrats who were opposed to the Grand Duke were imprisoned in the buildings of the abandoned Sacred Palace. Gregoras mentions a Rhaoul and a

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253Greg.II, 726; Kantak.II, 437-438, 493-498

254Kantakouzenos in the third book of his history places his major successes in Thrace in the period before Umur's second arrival in 1345. The presence of the Turks, however, is the only plausible explanation that I can find for this sudden reversal of the opinion of the Thracian city residents, including Adrianople. Gregoras puts Umur's arrival at the beginning of spring 1345 and, although less well informed, should be correct.

255Kantak.II, 537-538. The Genoese were opposed to Apokaukos and, according to Gregoras' narrative, were in contact with his assassins. On the general situation in international trade at that time see Laiou, "Byzantine Economy", 184, 190f.

256It is obvious from the whole of his work that Kantakouzenos is trying to shift the blame for continuing the war away from Anne, the mother of the reigning emperor and above all a family relative by the time he was writing. Gregoras, on the other side, is clear about Anne's determined opposition to any compromise. He should be believed, because Anne, after all, was right: although John VI did not harm her or her son, he did attempt to advance his own son, Mathew, as his successor to the throne, reserving for John V a position of secondary co-emperor at best.

Palaiologos, who murdered Apokaukos. The information sounds suspect, since no more detail, not even the first name, is given about two people of such importance. Kantakouzenos mentions more specifically Alexios Doukas, a nephew of Apokaukos. Another Doukas, Michael, was also among the prisoners according to his grandson, the anonymous 15th century historian[257]. During a visit to the prisoners Apokaukos was attacked and murdered. In spite of attempts by the Genoese of Galata to assist the resistance of the murderers, the palace was stormed by an angry mob of *gasmouloi* (soldiers of the fleet, the late Byzantine "marines") and almost all of the prisoners were massacred. The victims must have been mostly aristocrats. It should be noted however that the riot was not "antiaristocratic"; the perpetrators were members of a particular professional group that had close interest ties with Alexios Apokaukos and wished to avenge his murder[258]. The events in Constantinople are not an obvious manifestation of social antagonism. The policy of the regime hurt the aristocracy, but it was not necessarily dictated by the interests of other social groups (although it may have profited seafaring merchants); it was the result of the political alliance between the two main poles of power: Anne of Savoy, whose power was the imperial authority, and Alexios Apokaukos, whose power was the navy. The two branches of their policy, intransigeance against Kantakouzenos and maintenance of the fleet, justified each other and corresponded to the interests of the two individuals. All aristocrats who were not closely connected with them were naturally hurt by the perpetuation of civil war. It is far from certain, on the other hand, that anyone other than these two and the *gasmouloi* of the navy profited from it.

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[257]Doukas (ed.V.Grecu), *Istoria Turco-Bizantina (1341-1462)*, Bucharest 1958, 43-45
[258]On the Gasmouloi of the fleet see Matschke, "Johannes Kantakuzenos, Alexios Apokaukos und die byzantinische Flotte", 194-197

The Zealot revolt and regime[259]

Soon after the murder of Alexios Apokaukos the internal turmoil in Thessalonica reached its most acute phase. The Grand Duke had appointed as *kephale* of the city his son, John Apokaukos. The governor's authority was restricted by the power of the Zealot party. Its leader, a certain Michael Palaiologos, is called by Kantakouzenos *synarchon*, co-ruler, of Apokaukos, but this may well refer to a *de facto* situation than an official appointment[260]. In 1345 Apokaukos, with the cooperation of a group of prominent citizens, organized the assassination of Palaiologos and than dissolved the Zealots, sending those most distinguished (ἐν λόγῳ) among them to be guarded in fortresses outside the city and exiling the less important ones. His actions were not opposed by the citizens because -according to the narrative- they were tired of the Zealots' abuses and because Apokaukos was still representing the legitimate authority. After his father's murder was announced, Apokaukos decided to deliver the city to Kantakouzenos. For that he convoked a council formed by the "*aristoi*, the soldiers and the most prominent citizens". A few names are cited: George Kokalas, an imperial *oikeios* who was *megas adnoumiastes* in 1337-38 and member of a jury with other court officials in Thessalonica[261]. From the so-called "anti-Mafia pamphlet" we see that his milieu before the civil war included various middle-ranking aristocrats, but also

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[259]The events of Thessalonica at that time have been the subject of much debate. O.Tafrali in his pioneering but by now outdated work, *Théssalonique au XIVe siècle*, Paris 1913, advanced the idea of a revolt of the oppressed and exploited people of Thessalonica against the aristocracy and the imposition of a democratic egalitarian regime. P.Charanis, *op.cit.*, continued along the same lines, adding to the picture the factor of the city professionals, esp. the maritime "guilds". The parallel with quasi-contemporary popular revolts in other cities, especially in Genoa, was already pointed out by Gregoras and modern scholars, beginning with Tafrali, sought to discover precise connections with the Zealot uprisings in Thessalonica. The devastating criticism of I. Ševčenko, however, in "The Zealots' Revolutions and the Supposed Genoese Colony in Thessalonica",*Προσφορὰ εἰς Στ. Κυριακίδην*, (*Ἑλληνικά, παρ.4*) Thessalonica 1953, 602-617 weakened that argument, while his "Nicolas Cabasilas' "Anti-Zealot" Discourse: A Reinterpretation", *DOP* 11(1957) 81-171, deprived scholars of what was thought to be the best source for the Zealots' internal policies after the imposition of their regime. A more critical comparison with Genoa is offered by V.Hrochova, "La révolte des Zélotes à Salonique et les communes Italiennes", *BS* 22(1961), 1-15; Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion*, 177-181, 239, 247-8, 252, noted how the events transcended class lines, as aristocrats participated in the leadership of the Zealots while small landowners were among the victims of the riots; he sees the Zealot regime as an attempt to impose a new model of state structure, where power would not rest exclusively with the old feudal class but would also express the new rising urban patriciate; Weiss, *Kantakuzenos*, underlines the lack of any specific social or political program among the Zealots.

[260]Although such a joint appointment is attested later concerning Alexios Metochites and Andrew Palaiologos

[261]Patr.Reg.II 111, 114;

some high ones, like the Asan brothers[262]. Also present was the brother-in-law of Kokalas' wife, Pharmakes, an opponent of the zealots. His family name, it will be remembered, was borne by several important Thessalonians in that period, including Demetrios Pharmakes, the close collaborator of Kantakouzenos. Then there was Nicholas Kabasilas, of the well-known family, probably identical to the intellectual of the same name. The most peculiar case was Andrew Palaiologos, a former moderate Zealot who had been spared the persecution of the others. Andrew had been owning some land by imperial grant. That very year (1345) an imperial edict granted to him unlimited rights over it[263] and addressed him as *eparchos*. In other words, he was a middle-rank official. His particular charge is known: he commanded the *nautikon*. This term has been interpreted as the "mariners' guild"[264], although we know next to nothing about guilds in this period[265]. The term probably refers to the men of the war navy, in the same way as Kantakouzenos uses it on other occasions[266]. The expression "ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ ἰδιάζουσαν ἀρχὴν αὐτοὶ παρὰ τὴν τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως" signifies, rather obviously, that the navy was not subject to the *kephale*, as the other armed forces in the city, but to its own commander, who then was the Eparch Andrew Palaiologos. The only problem is that after his last departure from Thessalonica in 1343, Alexios Apokaukos left behind, we are told, only two of his large warships[267]. Even if we presume that there were several smaller ships, the best way around is to admit that a larger force of armed sailors, the same kind that Gregoras calls "Gasmouloi", was stationed in the city as a land force to safeguard the Grand Duke's interests.

262Hunger, "Anti-mafia Pamphlet", 96-97. Interestingly, the Asan brothers, as well as Tzamplakon, also mentioned in the "pamphlet", later joined Kantakouzenos.
263Lavra III **124**, 27
264Charanis, *op.cit.*, 212-213
265George Marmaras, πρωτομαΐστωρ τῶν οἰκοδόμων in Thessalonica is a witness in various acts betw. 1322-1327, e.g. Chil.**84**, 180; a formula for the appointment of the ἔξαρχος τῶν ταβουλλαρίων (supervisor of the notaries) is also preserved in Sathas, *MB* 6, 645-646
266E.g. Kantak.II, 537, 545; that the *nautikon* refers to the *Gasmouloi*, the marines of the fleet, was recognized by Matschke, "Johannes Kantakuzenos, Alexios Apokaukos und die byzantinische Flotte", who does not, however, discuss the events of Thessalonica based on that.
267Kantak.II, 385

In the council of 1345, the project for surrender was approved and a delegation of citizens announced it to Manuel Kantakouzenos who represented his father in Berroia. On behalf of the pretender, Manuel promised immunity for the city and promotions and grants for the most important individuals and the soldiers. Andrew Palaiologos, however, changed his mind and opposed the deal[268]. He went down to the maritime gate, where his men were quartered and rose them to fight against Apokaukos. As soon as the conflict was known, the Zealots who remained in the city (in the narrative they are clearly a different group from the sailors) joined them, together with a large mob. The next day they marched against Apokaukos who got trapped in the akropolis of the city. The decisive event was the betrayal of the *stratiotai* who formed the governor's main force: first they refused to fight and then, once the rebels broke in, they changed sides. Kantakouzenos blames George Kokalas for their behavior. Apokaukos and "a little less than a hundred" citizens were arrested and cruelly executed the next day, in spite of the protests of Palaiologos and Kokalas. Various acts of violence followed, the victims including Pharmakes. From that point onwards the city was under a particular regime, whose common appelation as "Zealot" is not entirely accurate, since the Zealots were only a part of the forces that brought it to existence. It will be observed that Kantakouzenos' narrative, with the unexplained changes of mood attributed to the Thessalonians is not entirely convincing. Gregoras and Demetrios Kydones give very summary descriptions of the events, but they agree in their version of the early incidents, slightly different from Kantakouzenos'[269]. According to them Apokaukos proceeded arbitrarily to the occupation of the akropolis and appealed to Manuel Kantakouzenos for an armed force that would secure control of the city. The whole affair by no means offers itself to easy interpretation: the obstinate opposition of Thessalonica to Kantakouzenos in a moment when other cities were surrendering in order to be protected of Turkish and Serbian

[268]According to Kantak.II, 574-5, the reason for the change was that he was disappointed at the honors promised to him by Manuel Kantakouzenos. This is not impossible, but of course Kantakouzenos may well be distorting the truth.

[269]Greg.II, 740-741; Kydones, *Monody on those killed in Thessalonica* (ed.Migne, *PG* 109, 640-652) 644-645

attacks, the attitude of the *stratiotai*, the changes of opinion of the members of leading Thessalonian families such as Kokalas, are all puzzling issues. It should be noted, however, that the description of the revolt does not show to us a conflict between the urban classes and the aristocracy. The high imperial aristocracy is completely absent: not one single aristocrat of the circle of imperial relatives is mentioned. Some prominent middle class families -or at least some of their members- supported Kantakouzenos and opposed the "Zealots": Kabasilas, Pharmakes, Kydones. Others, even relatives of the first (like Kokalas) took the opposite position. The low classes obviously joined the revolts. Kydones talks of slaves and peasants but, like all these sources, he is probably exaggerating[270]. The violence that coloured the events could be better explained by the presence of desperately destitute people among the rebels and such people no doubt existed in the city after the troubles of all the preceding years. The presence of "mariners" would give clues to a different direction; but I think that the people in question were soldier/sailors of the war navy and probably without ships as well. After all, even this most spectacularly violent of the revolts fits the pattern of previous ones: it broke out for a political reason -Apokaukos' decision to call in Kantakouzenos- and its declared aim was political, the preservation of the city's loyalty to John V. Of course the interests of particular groups played a very important role: this is mostly true of the sailors, who knew that the only hope they had was the preservation of Alexios Apokaukos' naval policy. But these short term interests do not constitute a long term political or social program.

Of course the Thessalonica revolt had another aspect that differentiated it from previous ones: this time the city turned to self-administration under the leadership of Andreas Palaiologos, always relying on his sailors. Constantinople eventually sent a governor, Alexios Metochites, but all the sources agree that the city was really independent. What is more, they refused to accept the situation created after Kantakouzenos' entry in Constatinople

[270]Kydones, *Monody*, 648: "'Ενταῦθα δοῦλος μὲν τὸν δεσπότην ὤθει· τὸν δὲ πριάμενον τὸ ἀνδράποδον· τὸν δὲ στρατηγόν, ὁ ἀγροῖκος· καὶ τὸν στρατιώτην, ὁ γεωργός". Sevcenko, followed by Matschke, takes the passage seriously (Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion*, 239). Although the presence of dispossessed peasants in the city at that time is undoubted and they are among the most likely candidates for the violent actions, I do not think that Kydones' pairs denote a conflict between cultivators and "pronoiars" in any way. After all, we are told that most sodiers passed to the side of the Zealots.

in 1347 and would turn even to Stephen Dusan -by then lord of all of the surrounding areas-as an alternative. This information has occasionally been rejected as slanderous, but I think it is problematic only if one believes in the social perspective and the long-term political plans of the city regime. Rejecting those two elements, unsupported anyway, we can come up with a more plausible explanation of the course of events.

I think that the sailors and their leader sincerely hoped in the continuation of the status quo, but Constantinople let them down. During 1346 the naval policy of Alexios Apokaukos in the Aegean was continued under the leadership of Andreas Fakeolatos (Facciolati). Fakeolatos was of a bacground similar to that of Apokaukos, once a fiscal entrepreneur and by that time very rich. He probably financed in part the navy by his own means. But Fakeolatos' activity was directly opposing the interests of the Genoese who lobbied intensely against him with the empress Anne. Anne, whose political position was becoming desperate as the idea of reconciliation with Kantakouzenos was gaining ground, turned to an external power for support and contracted an alliance with the Genoese. It probably included a promise of support on the part of the Genoese (even after Kantakouzenos had entered the city in 1347 Anne received the assistance of an army from Galata). Anne's part of the agreement was probably the dissolution of the fleet. This is not explicitly mentioned by any source, but it is a fact that when Kantakouzenos came to power he had no navy and had to rebuild one.

Anna's accord with the Genoese brought a shift of alliances: Fakeolatos lent his support to Kantakouzenos and was instrumental in admitting his army inside the walls of the capital. He remained a close collaborator of John VI, to the point that his house was looted upon the emperor's fall in 1354[271]. Once in power John VI attempted to resume the policy of naval strengthening, without any results, as it is known. His attitude, however, demonstrates the irrelevance of the naval policy to the causes of the civil war and further weakens the theory of a conflict of interest between the landed aristocracy and the middle class.

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271 According to Matschke, "Johannes Kantakuzenos, Alexios Apokaukos und die byzantinische Flotte", 201-203, the *nautikon* did not share Phakeolatos' change of attitude. The capture of Ainos and their support for John V are cited in that context. These events, however, occured after Kantakouzenos' attempt at naval domination failed and the fleet was abandoned.

What was the position of Thessalonica in face of those evolutions? The seamen of Thessalonica and their leaders found immediately that they had placed their bets on the wrong horse. In theory a reconciliation would have been possible, especially after Kantakouzenos' adoption of the naval policy, but it is likely that the atrocities of the past and in general the attitude of the Zealot movement until then did not give them many chances of compromise. The new emperor was surrounded by the Zealots' victims, people like Nicholas Kabasilas and Demetrios Kydones, who would probably react to any attempt to integrate the Zealot leaders in the empire's new aristocracy.

For a few years the city remained isolated by land, since the countryside was controlled by Stephen Dušan. Not much is known about maritime contacts, but it should be noted that until that moment there is no evidence for the existence of a Thessalonian merchant fleet[272]. Zealot Thessalonica did not act like a city republic on the Italian model, or like the innovative democracy seen by some. It was a city run by a desperate armed group, that had no reason of existence other than holding on to power. In that context the attempt to deliver the city to Stephen Dušan makes perfect sense. Andrew Palaiologos and those with him might have a future as aristocrats or soldiers in the service of the Serbo-Greek empire, whereas any reimposition of Constantinopolitan rule on their city would have brought their ruin and perhaps exposed them to danger.

My conclusion based on the whole of the above survey is that there is no ground to interpret the civil war of 1341-47 as a conflict between the landed aristocracy and the urban middle class. The terms themselves do not accurately represent the social stratification of the time. The great aristocrats of the circle of imperial relatives, such as John Kantakouzenos, Theodore Synadenos et al., and the entrepreneurial group represented by Apokaukos, Patrikiotes, Batatzes or Phakeolatos did not form two antagonistic poles. The latter group was well incorporated into the system as part of the aristocracy of offices. Both groups were mainly profiting from the distribution of the rural resources of the empire, regulated by the

[272]The early-fourteenth century Thessalonian merchants mentioned earlier were travelling on Venetian ships.

crown through the mechanism of grants, comissions and appointments. Both had an interest in assuring the favor of the imperial authority and this led to intense antagonisms, but those antagonisms did not pitch one group against the other. The rival parties were not really stable formations but rather networks based on kinship, common interest and patronage and involved individuals from all aristocratic subgroups, as well as people from other social strata. As was the case with the war between the two Andronikoi, the civil war of 1341 broke out at first as a conflict of opposing parties.

If the high aristocracy was not separated from the other prominent social groups by diverging interests, it was separated by different lifestyles, snobbery and occasionally moral contempt. The *Dialogue between thè rich and the poor*, coming from the time of the civil war, shows that the frame of mind of wealthy individuals with middle-class roots was such that they could potentially be more sympathetic to the lower classes than to the high aristocracy of "dice-rollers". But no source tells us that this group as a whole, or even its majority, turned against the high aristocracy during the civil war. As a matter of fact, the two groups are not politically active in the same geographical milieu: in Constantinople we see the great aristocrats falling victims to Alexios Apokaukos' policies, but the middle/upper class does not appear in the forefront until after 1347 (although they undoubtedly existed, if they were Makrembolites' audience). In Thessalonica, on the other hand, the only high aristocrats whose presence is certain are the governors. This may appear strange, yet it is in accord with the pattern of geographical distribution prevailing throughout the early Palaiologan period, as presented in Ch.II. Well-to-do urban families appear in Thessalonica, but their members can be found among the ranks of the victims, as much as among the ranks of the persecutors. If we set aside the generalizations of the sources and look at the names that we have -the likes of Kabasilas, Kydones, Pharmakes- we see that it is this class that mainly suffers by the Zealots.

We cannot identify with certainty in this period an urban patriciate different from the urban families that mostly provided the human component of the middle and low aristocracy,

the families of tax-collectors, churchmen, administrators and intellectuals, most of whom were also landowners or recipients of state grants. The upper regions of the middle class merge with the aristocracy and this makes the concept of a clash between the two even more improbable. We do not know if such people were already involved in maritime trade and financial activities, as many will afterwards. But the factor that mostly influenced their political position at this time was their ownership of land, that made them so sensitive to the devastations of the countryside.

Rejecting the theory of the conflict between the aristocracy and the urban patriciate, presented above, should not prevent us from recognizing the real changes that were taking place at the time in Byzantine society and economy. The willingness of wealthy people such as Apokaukos or Phakeolatos to invest in navy armaments is contemporary to the more silent and peaceful intrusion of more obscure people, such as Manuel Sideriotes into the trade system of the area[273]. But their activities were undertaken within the framework of a new orientation of the aristocracy as a whole and the Empire in general, as is demonstrated by the situation before 1341 and, especially, after 1347. At a particular moment in 1343-1344 the political need of preserving the fleet without compromising with Kantakouzenos led the regime in Constantinople to impose both pecuniary extractions and personal abuse to the aristocracy, that escalated in confiscations and imprisonment. But this conflict of interest was the result of an unexpected development, the reappearence of Kantakouzenos together with Turkish armies, that threatened the landed power-base of the aristocracy. The high aristocracy did not oppose commercial expansion, or even the fleet, so long as it would not have to be taxed for it. The naval policy continued after the Grand Duke's assassination and it was abandoned under pressure from the Genoese, not the aristocracy, only to be resumed by Kantakouzenos himself. There is no real reason to connect the riots in other cities to these developments, with the exception of the behavior of the sailors of Thessalonica. But even in

[273]See Laiou, "Byzantine Economy", 191-192; Matschke, "Byzantinische Politiker und byzantinische Kaufleute im Ringen um die Beteiligung am Schwarzmeerhandel in der Mitte des 14.Jh.", *Mitteilungen des Bulgarischen Forschungsinstitutes inÖsterreich* 1984, 75-89

their case, the connection is lost after the imposition of the autonomous regime and the developments in the capital. The sailors of the navy were indeed a professional group with clear-cut interests that directed their political behavior. But these were primarily soldiers, not necessarily identical or interchangeable with the mariners of commercial shipping and their support for a faction, particularly in Thessalonica, does not impose a connection with the milieu of merchants.

Another important observation concerning the civil war is the progressive quasi-disappearence of the high aristocracy from the front scene. The impression given by Kantakouzenos' narrative is that the opposing armies are more and more dominated by commanders coming from outside the traditional circle. This is consistent with the picture given by the surveys of court officials and of city governors (Tables I and IV), where one sees the rise of new names after 1341. This is valid not only for the loyalist side, but also for the side of Kantakouzenos: it may be observed that with the exception of the Asan brothers, John Angelos and a few other close relatives, most of Kantakouzenos' commanders come from outside the citcle of highly-born imperial relatives. What essentially happened is that the high aristocracy abandoned Kantakouzenos after the initial failure of his enterprise. On the other hand, the imperial government viewed them with great suspicion. Some, like Theodore Synadenos, were relegated to silent disgrace. Others, like Andronikos and Constantine Asan ended in prison. A probable factor that contributed to their weakening was the progressive isolation of Constantinople from the rest of the empire, where their properties and basis of power lay, combined with the great devastations that interrupted agricultural production and prevented the collection of taxes and other dues. The situation in Constantinople demonstrates once more the institutional weakness of the aristocracy to resist imperial power when they were not in command of an army or a region -even at such a time of instability when the power was exercised by a regency. The civil war did not bring any institutional alterations to the autocratic system; there was no tendency to grant defined powers either to the aristocracy or to any other group. But the autocratic system underwent some *de facto* changes that would

place important limits on it. The most important factor is the financial and military weakness of the emperors after 1347. Without the fiscal income and the permanent army of earlier emperors, the rulers would now have to rely on alliances and consensus. The other important factor is the abandoning of the centralized tradition and the fragmentation of the empire's administration.

The problem of unity

The observation that the Byzantine empire under the Palaiologoi witnessed increasing cetrifugal tendencies that led to a partial breakdown of imperial authority is not new[274]. The most important phenomenon in that aspect was the practice of granting large regions of the empire to members of the imperial family to administer for their lifetime. The Western institution that this practice ressembled most was the French *appanage* and, although technically the parallel is not exact, this appelation has been often used to describe this phenomenon. My study does not bring new conclusions cocerning this practice, especially since it flourished after the period covered here. It should be noted, however, that many of the phenomena considered as precedents of the "appanage" system are in reality quite different. The first is the practice of appointing close relatives of the emperor as governors of large areas. This begun with the Despot John Palaiologos in Macedonia and Thessaly under Michael VIII. The prerogatives of the Despot were not very different from that of a *kephale*: he administered the armed forces and represented the emperor's authority locally; he could not appoint governors in the cities of the area he commanded: such an appointment involved an oath of loyalty and was a strict prerogative of the emperor. He could grant privileges, but they had to be approved by the emperor subsequently, as was the case with the charters of the Maliasenoi[275]. Otherwise, the fiscal administration was independent. Other such cases were the appointments by Andronikos II of his sons, the Despots John, Constantine and

[274]See J.W.Barker, "The Problem of Appanages in Byzantium during the Palaiologan Period", *Byzantina* 3(1971), 103-122
[275]MM IV, 342-344

Demetrios in Macedonia. The only prerogative that they had which distinguishes them from other *kephalai* was the right to concede exemptions, grant the right to settle *paroikoi*, etc.[276] In all these cases the appointments were not for life and eventually ended before the appointees' demise. A slightly different case was the administration of certain areas by the crowned junior emperor. Andronikos II held such an authority in Asia Minor in 1280. Undoubtedly he had more extensive decision-making prerogatives, as the chrysobull issued on the occasion of his coronation had specified[277]. He had the authority to judge but not to appoint governors and there is no indication that he established his own fiscal apparatus. As in the other cases, his authority over an area was for a restricted period of time only. A similar role would later be granted by Andronikos II to his own son, Michael IX in Asia Minor, Thrace and Thessalonica successively.

I think that the importance attached to the information about Michael VIII's projects to carve out an independent dominion for his son Constantine or Irene's proposals to Andronikos II about a division of the empire among their children is in reverse proportion to the reliability of the source, that is Gregoras: in the first case, we saw that the information runs contrary to the spirit of Michael's actions as described by Pachymeres. It has also been suggested here that it may echo the propaganda of John Palaiologos in 1327. As for Irene, the information is part of a general attack on the character and the designs of that empress, echoing no doubt the opinion of Theodore Metochites' circle. But even according to Gregoras' narrative, this project was a personal thought and Irene did not undertake any activity to bring about the division of the empire. A more plausible case is that regarding the alleged plans of Alexios Philanthropenos. During his revolt, Philanthropenos did not take any steps towards claiming the throne, but was simply attempting to impose an independent authority locally[278]. Perhaps he hoped that eventually this situation would be accepted by the

[276]See examples in Chil., **30**, **68**
[277]A. Heisenberg, *Aus der Geschichte und Literatur der Palaiologenzeit*, Munich 1921, 37-41
[278]Gregoras states that Philanthropenos had the intention of assuming imperial emblems later (Greg.I, 198-199)

government in Constantinople. But the sudden end of the revolt, before any negotiations were begun, does not allow us to know much more.

The first clear case of the creation of an independent authority is the regime of Thrace under Andronikos III in the brief period between the accord of Rhegion and the treaty of Epibatai. The junior emperor acquired briefly unlimited authority over the area. The prospects of this separation are not clear, since it was not certain at the time whether Andronikos would succeed to his grandfather or not. Perhaps Andronikos and his followers intended to definitely separate their region from the empire, but this would take place only if they failed in future attempts to assure the succession. After 1322 the situation reverted to what it had been under Michael IX: Andronikos III renounced to his rights to collect taxes or appoint governors, although it is not certain how well he conformed to the latter point. Andronikos' precedent in 1321-22 was probably what the *panhypersebastos* John had in mind when he attempted to detach Macedonia in 1327. If my interpretation, presented earlier, is correct, then that would be the second time that Andronikos II's government recognized such a situation, although in this case it was never realized.

The reign of Andronikos III did not present such phenomena. On the contrary, it was marked by the reimposition of direct imperial control on the former lands of the Despotate, Epiros and Thessaly, that had until then been in an intermediary state between independence and vassalage under their Despots. Probably a strong tendency for local autonomy persisted in those areas and it is indicative of this that the first "appanage" afterwards was the grant of Thessaly to John Angelos, described above. John Kantakouzenos would generalize the practice after he gained control of the empire. His two sons, Mathew and Manuel were given Thrace and the Morea respectively. John V was sent to Thessalonica after the fall of the Zealots, presumably to ensure the loyalty of the city against Stephen Dusan. It is not unlikely that John VI intended this unruly city as an "appanage" for his son-in-law after advancing his own son, Mathew to the empire, although he obviously counted without John V's determination to claim all of his inheritance. As it has been noted, those "appanages" never

became hereditary but were constantly redistributed among the members of the imperial family, co-emperors and despots.

In all those instances, it can be argued that the aristocracy played an important role in the creation of the "appanages", beginning with Thrace in 1321 and possibly Macedonia in 1327, where the main reason for the separation of the provinces was the need of providing for groups of aristocrats who thought that their chances of getting important positions and grants under the central government were low. In 1321 it was the circle of Michael IX, regrouped around Andronikos III; in 1327, on the contrary, it was perhaps the circle of Theodore Metochites and Andronikos II. After 1347 the situation was again uncertain for many aristocrats of the victorious side: they controlled what remained of the empire, but under the threat of an eventual succession of John V, who still possessed, as later events showed, his appeal among the population of Constantinople. Again we see that the aristocracy contributed to the decentralization of the empire, but not by opposing the imperial power, as in the late twelfth century, but by acting through it. The only cases of aristocrats seeking autonomy locally in this period concern foreigners, such as the Genoese lords in Chios and Phocaea and the Slavs Hrelja and Momčilo[279], or aristocrats in the former Despotate areas, such as the Gabrielopouloi in Thessaly. Cases of independent cities are rare and the causes are different, for example Thessalonica during the Zealot regime or Philadelpheia after 1310, when it remained isolated in the middle of the Turkish emirates. This leaves us with some peculiar cases, like Limpidarios, a servant of Nikephoros Orsini who established an autonomous hegemony in Ainos around 1355[280], that hardly support the model of an aristocracy with independent centrifugal tendencies. The pressure of the aristocrats is not directed towards their own autonomy, but towards divisions at the top and the creation of separately administered units under members of the imperial family (families, after 1347), with whom they are potentially in a better position to compete for distinction and

[279]On these two see M.Bartusis, "Chrelja and Momčilo: Occasional Servants of Byzantium in Fourteenth-Century Macedonia", *BS* 41(1980) 201-221

[280]Kantak.III, 315-316. As Matschke noted ("Johannes Kantakuzenos, Alexios Apokaukos und die byzantinische Flotte", 202) this event is rather to be connected with the piratical behavior of the *nautikon*.

granted wealth. This is one more case where the ambitions of the aristocracy were not antagonistic to the state, but passed through its mechanisms.

CONCLUSION

Today it is often accepted that the development of the aristocracy in Byzantium and in Western Europe followed broadly parallel lines from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, particularly regarding phenomena such as the formation of linear families or the expansion of great landholding at the expense of smaller owners. There remains, however, a field where the two groups differ dramatically; that is their relationship to centralized power. The development of Western European aristocracy took place in a vacuum of state power. In a sense the aristocrats assumed not only the political power of the kings, but also the lifestyle and certain of the ideological traits associated with kingship. Once the kings began to claim over their *regna* a kind of power based on their divine right and distinct from their rights as feudal overlords, the aristocracy saw this as incompatible with their own prerogatives and reacted to it. The history of Western Europe from the twelfth to the fifteenth century is marked by the antagonism between the kings and the territorial lords. The struggle of the aristocracy to preserve its privileges from the ever growing power of the state would continue until the time of the French revolution.

Byzantium never knew that antagonism, with the possible exception of the period of "decomposition", around the time of the fourth crusade. From the beginning, the aristocrats' power was articulated within the framework of the state: the *dynatoi* of the tenth century, for example, marched against the emperor at the head of the imperial (thematic) armies. The wealthiest and more powerful aristocrats would often occupy important positions in the administration and army already before 1081. The changes brought about by the Komnenoi allowed the privileged group that formed their "clan" unprecedented access to the wealth of the empire. At the same time, however, the new system bound them tightly to the person of the emperor, from whom they now held the most important part of their properties.

Due to the peculiar historical circumstances that accompanied the decomposition and partial restoration of the empire in the thirteenth century, the aristocratic group in the late

period appears to have been more dependent than ever from the state, although the military and financial power of the emperors was waning. The accretion of their property through grants and potentially the preservation of the properties that they had inherited depended upon their good connections at court. Although inheritance and dowry remained important tools in the struggle for accumulation of property, a position in the court or the provincial administration was the best means by far. The problem for the aristocrats is that they lacked the means to control the allotment of these positions and the distribution of state grants, that remained firmly within the prerogatives of the emperors.

The most interesting thing about the late Byzantine aristocrats is that apparently they never tried to impose their control as a group over imperial authority. They did not form any permanent body, neither did they ask the emperors to guarantee particular privileges to their class. They would lobby in order to have immunity granted to their properties, but they did not ask the emperors to attach immunity to their personal status. Although they energetically competed with each other for the few coveted offices and positions, they never demanded the exclusion of outsiders from court office or positions in the administration. Finally, although they might have extensive properties, personal armed retinues, dependents and even castles in the provinces, they did not attempt to rule autonomously, but placed their resources at the service of their favourite candidates for the empire.

The struggle for power was essentially a personal, not a family affair, as aristocrats declined to join their forces in extended families in order to better promote their interests collectively. An aristocrat born of a particular agnatic line would not depend on the support of other aristocrats with whom he shared a common ancestor and family name. On the contrary, he would stress how superior his pedigree was to theirs, by adding to his appelation the illustrious names he had from his mother and other ancestors. The same individualism is manifested in aristocratic attitude towards outsiders penetrating the aristocratic group. If the power of these *novi homines* -who might be important imperial advisors or wealthy

entrepreneurs- could be put to their service through a marriage alliance, or another form of partnership, then they were welcome.

I am not certain that this individualistic attitude can only be explained through structural reasons. There may be a cultural background to it that it is hard to trace[1]. But it should be noted that this individualism, or better, this lack of corporative spirit is manifested in other Byzantine social milieus as well. In this period there is no evidence of strong peasant communities, or urban bodies of self-administration. The only notable exception concerns the *kastrenoi* of Ioannina; but this particular geographical area is atypical of the situation in the central parts of the empire.

The implications of this aristocratic attitude for the prospects of the late Byzantine empire for survival are also uncertain. Undoubtedly, the preservation of a strong central authority was a factor that contributed to internal stability. On the other hand, when compared to is neighbours, the Serbian lords, the Turcoman gazis, or the patricians of Venice, the Byzantine aristocracy appears disappointingly inward-looking and self-destructive. A few exceptional instances, such as Alexios Philanthropenos, the entrepreneurial *dynatoi* of Chios and Phocea, their peers of Monembasia or the governors of the Morea rather reinforce the contrast. Although the "feudalization" of the late Byzantine empire is sometimes blamed for the fatal weakening of the state in that period, one wonders whether a more loose, more profoundly "feudal" socio-political structure would not have helped Byzantine society, which was still prosperous until the end of the thirteenth century, to direct its energies more decisively towards its defence from external danger.

[1] Individualism as a permanent trait of Byzantine culture has been repeatedly emphasized by A.P.Kazhdan. In his words "An absence or looseness of social relationships -in other words, individualism- was the most prominent feature of *homo byzantinus* in society" (A.P.Kazhdan/G.Constable, *People and Power in Byzantium*, Washington, 1982, p.34)

Table I: List of court office holders until the middle of the fourteenth century

(The order followed is that of the appendix to the Hexabiblos, published in Verpeaux, *Ps.-Kodinos*, pp.300-302, ommiting the first two titles, Despot and Sebastocrator as well as various offices that had an assigned rank but were of a non-courtly nature, such as Court Doctor, Archdeacon, Consul of the philosophers, et c.). Years marking the beginning or end of one's tenure are underlined.
R=bearing a characterization indicating relationship to the Emperor
(R)=does not happen to bear a characterization in the sources but was a close relative and must certainly have indicated it in his title
O=oikeios of the emperor
S=Sevastos
M=Megalodoxotatos
MI=Office of predominantly military character
Ad=Office carrying administrative duties

	Καῖσαρ	
Leo Gabalas[1]		in the 1230's
Constantine Palaiologos 21498[2]	R	1259
Alexios Strategopoulos 26894		1259-betw.1270-74
Roger de Flor 24386	R	1305
John Palaiologos 21479	R	1326
Stpehen Chreles 30989[3]		1342
	Πανυπερσέβαστος	
John Plytos[4]	O,S,M	ca.1225, Epiros
Theodotos Phokas[5]	R	1209
George Zagarommates 6417	R,S	1259-1261
John Palaiologos 21479	R	1305-1326
Nikephoros Angelos Doukas 222	(R)	1340-1347
Isaac Asan 1494	R	1341-
	Πρωτοβεστιάριος	
Basil Komnenos[6]		
George Eunouchos[7]	M	1208-1213
Alyates[8]	O	ca.1218-1224,Epiros
Alexios Rhaoul 24110	(R)	1242-1255

[1] Akrop.45,86
[2] The number immediately following a name refers to the PLP
[3] The autonomous toparch Hrelja was offered court titles by John Kantakouzenos and perhaps Andronikos III but, of course, cannot be considered member of the Constantinopolitan court.
[4] Chom.11,105,125,133,199,446
[5] MM VI 153
[6] M.Angold, "The Administration of the Empire of Nicaea", *BF* 19(1993), 129, without references.
[7] MM VI 152,154,156ff. I guess that Eunouchos is a last name here.
[8] Bees/Apok. 78,92

George Mouzalon[9]	R	1255-1258
John Rhaoul 24125	(R)	1259-bef.1274
Michael Palaiologos Tarchaneiotes 27505	R	1281-1283
Theodore Mouzalon 19439	S	1291?-1294
Andronikos Palaiologos (Angelos)21435	R	1326-1328
Theodore Synadenos 27120	R	1342

Μέγας Δούξ (MI)

Theodotos Phokas	R	1209
Auxentios[10]		1230
Manuel Kontophre?		1241,1242-
Michael Palaiologos 21528		1258
Michael Laskaris 14554		1259-1269
Alexios Philanthropenos 29751	(R)	1269?-1274
Licario 8154	O	After 1277-
Roger de Flor 24386	R	1303-1305
Berenguer d' Entenca 27580		1304
Syrgiannes 27167	R	1321-
Isaac Asan 1494	R	-1341
Alexios Apokaukos 1180	O	1341-1345
Asomatianos Tzamplakon 27753		1348,1356

Μέγας Δομέστικος (MI)

Andronikos Palaiologos[11]		1228,-1247
Nikephoros Tarchaneiotes[12]		
George Mouzalon	R	1254-1255
Andronikos Mouzalon[13]		1255-1258
Alexios Strategopoulos 26894		1259
Alexios Philes 29809	(R)	1259-1263
Michael Palaiologos Tarchaneiotes 27505	R	1272-1283
(Theodore) Angelos 196?[14]	R	1287
John Angelos Senachereim 25150		1296
Alexios Rhaoul 24109	O	-1303
Syrgiannes the elder 27233	(R)	
John Kantakouzenos 10973	R	1321-1341
(Stephen Chreles) 30989		1341-1342
Demetrios Palaiologos 21455	R	1357
Alexios Metochites 17977		1369

[9] Akrop.124. George Mouzalon was a honorary brother and adoptive son of Theodore II. See Ch.V

[10] Angold,*Nicaea* 197-198, after F.Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au moyen âge,* Paris 1959, 97-99, based on the so far unpublished chronicle of Calerghi.

[11] Akrop.45,84,162,passim

[12] Akrop.55,66,89. Until ca.1252 at least, he performed the duties of Megas Domestikos without bearing the title. He did, however, assume that office eventually.

[13] Ibid.124

[14] PLP identifies the persons mentioned in MM IV, 276 and 279. Actually, the first name of the Megas Domestikos is not mentioned and he could be John Senachereim.

Πρωτοστράτωρ (MI)

John Ises[15]	S	1221
John Angelos 203		1255-1259
Alexios Philanthropenos 29751	(R)	1259-
Andronikos Doukas Aprenos 1209	(R?)	ca.1266
Andronikos Palaiologos 21432	R	1260's-1279
Michael Strategopoulos 26898	(R)	1282-1292
Theodore Tzimiskes 27951		Epiros,1295-96
Michael Doukas Tarchaneiotes Glabas 27504		ca.1297,1304
Michael Zorianos 6666		Epiros,ca.1300
John Philes 29815	R	ca.1315
Andronikos Asan?[16] 1489	R	-1321?
Theodore Synadenos 27120	R	1321-1342
Andronikos Palaiologos (Angelos) 21433	R	1342-1344
George Phakrases 29575		1346,1351
Andreas Phakeolatos 29559		1348,1351
Constantine-Manasses Tarchaneiotes 27494=27498	R	(1351),1364

Μέγας Λογοθέτης (Ad)

John Strategopoulos[17]	S	1217?
George Akropolites 518	R	1255-1282
Theodore Mouzalon 19439	S	1282-1294
Constantine Akropolites 520	O	1305/6-1321
Theodore Metochites 17982	R	1321-1328
John Rhaoul Gabalas 24126[18]	R	1344
Nikephoros Metochites 17986		1354?

Μέγας Στρατοπεδάρχης (MI)

George Mouzalon		1255-1258
Balaneidiotes 2057		1260-bef.1266
John Synadenos 27125	(R)	1275?,1281,1284
Libadarios 14858=14859		1296-
Angelos Senachereim 25146	R	1308
Rhaoul 24105		
Manuel Tagaris 27400		1321-1329
Palaiologos Sphrantzes 27282		1334-1340
Andronikos Palaiologos (Angelos) 21433	R	1341-1342
George Choumnos 30946	R	1341 or 1342-
John Batatzes 2518	O	1344-1346

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15 Patmos I.121, II.159, Akrop.40

16 Philes I, 113 refers to him rather than to Andronikos Angelos. See the discussion in Ch.V in the text.

17 MM IV.295

18 The identification of a Raoul and a Gabalas that bear the same title in the same time has been doubted by E.Lappa-Zizicas, "Un chrysobulle inédit en faveur du monastère des Saints Anargyres de Kosmidion", *TM* 8(1981), 255-268, but I prefer to retain it. The PLP accepts the doubt and only includes John Rhaoul.

Demetrios Tzamplakon 27755		1346,1362
George Tagaris 27399		1346
Michael Philanthropenos 29774	R	1350

Μέγας Πριμμικήριος (Ml)

Constantine Tornikes 29129	R	-1255,1259
John Angelos 203		1255
George Angelos 187	R	ca.1259
Michael Palaiologos Tarchaneiotes 27505	R	1262?-1272?
Kassianos 11346	R	1305-1306
John Palaiologos Philes 29815	R	1310
Manuel Asan 1506	(R)	ca.1330
Miekras 18077		Thessaly,1340
John Doukas Apokaukos 1187		(1344?)-1345
Andronikos Asan 1488	R	1351

Μέγας Κονοσταῦλος (Ml)

Michael Palaiologos 21528		-1258
Michael Kantakouzenos 10984		1262-
Andronikos Tarchaneiotes 27475	(R)	1267-1272?
Michael Kaballarios 10044		-1275/6
Licario 8154	O	1276/77-
Michael Doukas Tarchaneiotes Glabas 27504		1282?,1297
Michael Tornikes 29132	(R)	1320
John Palaiologos Synadenos 27126	R	1333
Alexios Kabasilas 10073		1339-
Michael Senachereim Monomachos 19306	O,S	1343/4-bef.1346

Ἐπὶ τοῦ Κανικλείου (Ad)

Basil Chrysomalles[19]	O	1213
Nikephoros Choumnos 30961	O,R,S	after1294-bef.1330
John Gabras Meliteniotes 17854=17853?		1340's?
Manuel Angelos 214	O	1354

Πρωτοσεβαστός

Theodore Kontostephanos[20]		ca.1242
George Mouzalon	R	1255-1258
Manuel Laskaris 14550=14551	R	1255?-1259
Michael Nestongos 20726	R	1259-1271/2?
Michael Palaiologos Tarchaneiotes 27505	R	-1283
(Nikephoros?) Tarchaneiotes 27470	(R)	1293,1295
Andronikos Palaiologos (Angelos) 21435	R	1326-1328
Constantine Palaiologos 21494	(R)	ca.1330,1342
(Stephen Chreles 30989)		1334/5

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19 MM V.257

20 Akrop.I, 66,87

John Rhaoul Gabalas 24126	R	1341-1343
Leo (?)Kalothetos 10617		1346,1349
Kontophre 13130		1346
Alexios Metochites 17977		1347/8

Πιγκέρνης (MI)

John Kantakouzenos[21]	O	1242-bef.1257?
George Nestongos[22]		1256
Manuel Kantakouzenos[23]	O	1262?
Alexios Doukas Nestongos 20727	R	1267
Libadarios 14860	(R)	(1272) ,1293
Manuel Rhaoul 24132	R	1276-1279
Michael Doukas Tarchaneiotes Glabas 27504		-1282?
Alexios Philanthropenos Tarchaneiotes 29752	(R)	1294-1295, 1324-1335
Angelos Senachereim 25146	R	1305, 1306
Syrgiannes 27167	R	1314-1321
John Angelos 204	R	1339
Demetrios Tornikes 29123		1358

Παρακοιμώμενος τῆς Σφενδόνης[24]

Isaac Doukas 5691	S	-1222?
Dionysios[25]		under Michael VIII
Gabriel Sphrantzes 27276		1270's
Constantine Doukas Nestongos 20201	R	1280,1306,1307
*John Choumnos 30954	(R)	beg. 14th c.
*Andronikos Kantakouzenos 10955		1320
*Alexios Apokaukos 1180	O	1321-1341

Παρακοιμώμενος τοῦ Κοιτῶνος

*Alexios Krateros[26]	O,S	1221-bef.1249
George Zagarommates 6417	R,S	betw.1254-1258
*(John) Makrenos 92605		-1263
Basil Basilikos 2458		ca.1260-after 1281
*John Phakrases 29580		?
*Andronikos Tornikes 29122	(R)	1324-1327

Κουροπαλάτης (MI?)

Nikephoros Kastamonites[27]		?

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[21]Akrop.I,86-88, who uses the title *ἐπὶ τοῦ κεράσματος*.

[22]Akrop.I,293, with the same title as above. Also Pach. I.95

[23]MM IV.216-217. But perhaps the pinkernes is not identical to Manuel of the preceding document.

[24]Under this and the next heading, people preceded by an asterisc are known just as parakoimomenoi. I placed them to whichever of the two titles appeared to me more likely but there is no certainty.

[25]Philes II. 261-262

[26]References in Ahrweiler, "Smyrne", 140,171

[27]V.Laurent, *Les bulles métriques dans la sigillographie byzantine*, Athens 1932, 15

Theodore Komnenos Laskaris[28]	S	?
Michael Tarchaneiotes Glabas[29]		after 1262?
Oumpertopoulos 21163		1285?

Πρωτοβεστιαρίτης

John Batatzes[30]	(R)	-1222
George Zagarommates 61417	R,S	1235-1254
Andronikos Mouzalon		-1255
Karyanites[31]		1255-1259
Demetrios Syr Mourinos 19512	O,S	1279,1280/81
Libadarios 14858=14859		after1284-1296
Andronikos Kantakouzenos 10956	R	1324,1327
John Doukas (Apokaukos?) 1187		-1344
George Spanopoulos 26456		1347
Diplobatatzes 5509		1350

Δομέστικος τῆς Τραπέζης (Ml?)

Alexios Kaballarios 10034	R	1270-1272/73
Kantakouzenos?[32]		
Theodore Synadenos 27120	R	-1321
Phokas Maroules 1715		1327

Ἐπὶ τῆς Τραπέζης (Ml?)

Nikephoros Tarchaneiotes		1240,1252
Isaac Nestongos 20200		1256
Bryennios 3248		1272
Michael Doukas Philanthropenos 29777	O	1286,1303
Michael Zorianos 6666		Epiros,under Thomas I
Palaiologos 21411	R	bef.1324
George Choumnos 30946	R	1336-1341
Andreas Palaiologos 21425	O	1347-

Λογοθέτης τοῦ Γενικοῦ (Ad)

George Akropolites 518	R	1246-1255
Theodore Mouzalon 19439	S	1277-1282
Constantine Akropolites 520	O	1282-1305/6?
Theodore Metochites 17982	R	1305/6-1321

Μέγας Παπίας (Ml?)

Michael Tarchaneiotes Glabas 27504		betw.1262-1282?
Oumpertopoulos 21163		1285?-

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[28] Ibid., 114. If identical with the emperor it should date from the 12th C.

[29] The early cursus honorum of the future protostrator as presented by Pachymeres is problematic.

[30] Akrop.26. But one of the codices gives him as protovestiarios.

[31] Akrop.124,159,160, Pach.I.89

[32] Martini/Philes 125ff. He is the father of PLP 10976

Nicholas Tarchaneiotes Glabas 27505		ca.1300?
Choumnos?[33]		bef.1324
John Kantakouzenos 10973	R	-1321
Constantine Palaiologos 21493?	R	1321-1324
X-Antonios Tzamplakon 27748?[34]		1332
Alexios-Arsenios Tzamplakon 27752	O	1333-1342, bef.1356
Demetrios Kabasilas 10083=10881?	O	1347-1369

Ἔπαρχος

Constantine Chadenos 30346	O,S	after 1269
Manuel Mouzalon 19445	S	(1275),1285
Hypertimos 29501		betw.1282-1305
Chalkeopoulos 30410		betw.1282-1305
Michael Senachereim Monomachos 19306	O,S	1327,1333
Andrew Palaiologos 21425	O	1345-bef.1348
George Isaris 8283	O	1348,1350

Μέγας Δρουγγάριος τῆς Βίγλης[35]

*Andronikos Eonopolites 6713		1286-1289
Theodore Komnenos Philes 29813[36]		1332?
Stephen Palaiologos 21537		1334 or earlier
(Constantine Tornikes)[37]		1326
Bryennios 3251[38]		1328
Demetrios Tornikes 29124	R	1324-1341
John Batatzes 2518	O	-1344
*Manuel Laskaris Bryennios 14548		1355

Μέγας Ἑταιρειάρχης (MI)

Phlamoules[39]		ca.1224
John Kammytzes[40]		
Michael Libadarios[41]		ca,1242
Manuel Rhamatas[42]		under John III
Basilikos 2452		1259/61-
Progonos Sgouros 25060	R	1294/5
Doukas Nestongos 20725		1304,deposed,1305-

33 *Μαρία Ἀσπιέτισσα Χούμναινα*, PLP1758, was *μεγάλη Παπίαινα* in 1324.

34 PLP, following Theocharides, "Οἱ Τζαμπλάκωνες", *Makedonika* 5(1961-63), 125-183 believes that Alexios is the lay name of Antonios. I differ, as explained in the text.

35 Like the parakoimomenoi, the grand drongarioi preceded by an asterisc are found in the sources without further specifiation of their office.

36 The updated reference must be to Iviron IV, but I have not been able to check it so far

37 Perhaps a scribe's error for Demetrios Tornikes?

38 Possibly an anticipatory mention of Manuel Bryennios

39 Akrop.36

40 Ibid.40

41 Ibid.67

42 Ibid.151note.

Tzamplakon 27762	R	bef.1321
Andronikos Exotrochos 6081	O	1328-1329
George Sarantenos 24901		1326,1330,1333
George Doukas Philanthropenos 29759	O	1346
John Margarites 16850	O	1348,Serbian court
Tarchaneiotes 25469		-1355
Nicholas Sigeros 25282		1355-1357

Λογοθέτης τοῦ Δρόμου (Ad?)

Basil Metretopoulos 17987	R,S	1267,1280-bef.1299
John Glykys 4271		1295/6-1315

Μέγας Χαρτουλάριος (Ml)

John Petraliphas[43]		1241,1242
Tzyrithon[44]		after1246
Michael Palaiologos[45]		1256
Libadarios 14858=14859		ca.1284
(Michael Komnenos Philes 21818?)		early 14th C.
Constantine Palaiologos 21496		1317
Andronikos Kantakouzenos 10956	O	1322
Laskaris 14515=14503?		1341
John Batatzes 2518	O	1342
Nikephoros Senachereim 25155	O	1344

Μυστικός (Ad?)

John Mouzalon[46]		bef.1242
Michael Palaiologos 21524	R	1259
John Choumnos 30949		1270's
Nikephoros Choumnos 30961	O,S	1292-1294
Monomachos 19295		1319/20?
Manuel Kinnamos 11724		1342,1349

Πρωτασηκρῆτις (Ad)

Michael Senachereim 25154		1259-1262
(Michael Neokaisareites)20096=20089[47]	S?	1274
Manuel Neokaisareites 20094		ca.1274-1295
Leo Bardales 2183		1321-1342

'Επὶ τοῦ Στρατοῦ (Ml)

Theodore Mouzakios 19428		-1305/6

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[43]Ibid.58,66. Megas Hetaireiarches acc. to Scut.283
[44]Akrop.79
[45]Pach.I.43
[46]Akrop.67
[47]The rank of sevastos is borne by a contemporary Asia Minor landowner of the same name. But the protasekretis may be an error for Manuel.

Maroules 17141		1305/6-
Rhaoul 24101		
Kabasilas 10068		bef.1321
Jean de Giblet 6589		1324/25
(Manuel) Senachereim 25138=25152?		1341
Markos Syr Mourinos Doukas Glabas 19513 O		1355-1370

Μέγας Δρουγγάριος τοῦ Στόλου

Gabalas 3293	S	1241-1266/67
Stephen Mouzalon 19447		-1303
John Doukas Mouzalon[48]		
John Philanthropenos 29766	O	1324
*John Rhaoul Gabalas 24126	R	-1341
George Doukas Isaris 8283	O	1342,1344

Δομέστικος τῶν Σχολῶν

Tzamplakon[49]		under John III
Theodotos Kalothetos 10607	R,S	1259
Katelanos[50]		1304
Manuel Doukas Laskaris 14549	O	ca.1320
(John Tarchaneiotes) 27486[51]	O	1325-1326

Πριμμικήριος τῆς Αὐλῆς

Isaac Doukas 5692		1252,1256
Doukas Nestongos 20725		-1304
John Palaiologos 21483		1342

Μέγας Ἄρχων

Constantine Margarites[52]		1254/55-1256
Maroules 17141		1303-1305
Alexios Rhaoul 24108		1321/22?
Demetrios Angelos 190[53]	O	1332
John Paraspondylos 21911		1342

Τατᾶς τῆς Αὐλῆς

Theodore Kalampakes[54]		1256
Tzamplakon 27747		1272-
Andronikos Eonopolites 6713		1280/81
Michael Senachereim Monomachos	O,S	soon after 1321

48Philes II.187-188. The poem is adressed to Mouzalon's homonymous saint. In the title, he is identified as St.John, but the title is not by Philes. Therefore the recipient of the poem may well be Stephen
49Theocharides, "Οἱ Τζαμπλάκωνες", 131
50Pach.II, 593
51Simply Domestikos in the sources.
52Akrop.123
53Also in *DVL* I, 234
54Akrop.139

Μέγας Τζαούσιος (Ml)		
Constantine Margarites		bef.1252-1254/55
Nikephoros Arrianites 1313	S	1277
Papylas 21828		1282
Chranisthlabos 30985		after 1281-1303
Oumpertopoulos 21163[55]		1305
Alexios-Arsenios Tzamplakon 27752	O	1326-1333?
Theodore Koteanitzes 13341=13327?	O	1344,1345

Πραίτωρ τοῦ Δήμου		
Nikephoros Rhimpsas 24292=24291?	O,S	1259,1271,1286
Father of Rhaianes (24032)	O,S	1316/17
Serapheim Syropoulos[56]		1320
Nicholas Sigeros 25282		1352

Λογοθέτης τῶν Οἰκειακῶν (Ad)		
Hagiotheodorites 241		1259
Demetrios Iatropoulos 7968	O,S	1290-1295
Theodore Metochites 17982		1295/6-1305
Glabas 4215	O	after1336-1344

Μέγας Λογαριαστής (Ad)		
George Akropolites 518		ca.1239-1246
Constantine Chadenos 30346	O,S	1269
(Constatnine Aulenos[57]		13th C.)
Kokalas 14088		1326/7

Ἐπὶ τῶν Δεήσεων (Ad)		
John Glykys 4271		1282-1295/6
George Chatzikes 30724	O,S	1321-1325

Σκουτέριος		
Xyleas[58]		1256
Choumnos 30939		1306
(Theodore Sarantenos) 24906[59]	O,S	1324,1326
(Theodore Kapandrites) 11010	O,S	1326
George Glabas[60]		-1344

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[55]It is hard to imagine how the m.tzaousios of 1305 can be the same person as the kouropalates and m.papias of 1285.
[56]*DVL* I, 165. His relations with the Venetians make it tempting to associate him to Stephen Syropoulos, PLP27218, Serapheim being a monastic name, but it antedates the references to Stephen(1324 and 1332).
[57]Laurent, *Les bulles métriques*, 63. Very likely a misreading for Chadenos.
[58]Ibid.139ff
[59]Skouterios could be a proper name and not an office. This is perhaps the case with Th.Sarantenos, very likely with his nephew Th.Kapandrites and almost certainly with the Kapandritai Skouterioi buried in St.Nicholas Orphanos whom I have not includuded in the list.
[60]Kant.II.195,401,426

Senachereim 25140=25145	O	1344
Andrew Indanes 8208	O	1351
	Πρωτοκυνηγός	
Mouzalon[61]		-1258
Indanes Sarantenos 24908		1300
Kontophre 13130		1329
John Batatzes 2518	O	1333-bef.1342
Halyates 709		long bef.1348
	Ἀμηράλιος (MI?)	
Katelanos[62]		bef.1304
Andrea Morisco 19516		1306-
	Μέγας Ἀδνουμιαστής (Ad?)	
Hyaleas 29467	S	bef.1310
Manuel Batrachonites 2529	O,S	1315
John Angelos 202	O	1317
John Zarides 6462		1323?
Michael Neokaisarites 20095	O	1324-1325
Alexios Hyaleas 29470	O	1333,1336
George Kokalas 14089	O	1336
George Katzaras 11490	O,S	1351
	Κοιαίστωρ	
Nikephoros Choumnos 30961	O,S	bef.1282-1292
Michael Atzymes 1633	S	betw.1316-1319
	Λογοθέτης τοῦ Στρατιωτικοῦ (Ad?)	
Kinnamos[63]		1303
Meliteniotes[64]		1325
Theodore Kabasilas 10090	O,S	1327
	Πρωτοϊερακάριος	
Constantine Chadenos 30346	O,S	1259 or 1274
Demetrios Palaiologos[65]		
Basilikos 2454		
Sarantenos 24896		1326,1338
John Synadenos (Maroules) 27123		bef.1341
Demetrios Komes 92402		1344
Iagoupes 92055	O	1344

[61] Akrop.155
[62] Pach.II, 593
[63] Belgrano, "Prima serie di documenti riguardanti la colonia di Pera", 103
[64] Iviron III, 294
[65] Philes I, 69

Theodore Strongylos 26952	O	1348

Μέγας Διερμηνευτής

George Tzimiskes/Berroiotes 2673[66]		-1274
Nicholas Sigeros 25282		1347-1349

Λογοθέτης τῶν Ἀγελῶν (Ad)

Pepagomenos 22350		betw.1282-1289
Theodore Metochites 17982		1290-1295/6
Pakrases 29570		ca.1299/1300
Constantine Makrenos 16365	O,S	after1337-1344

Ὀρφανοτρόφος

Leo Bardales 2183		ca.1300
Tryphon Kedrenos 11604	S	1315,1316-bef.1321
Constantine Edessenos 5960=14177?[67]	O,S	1342,1344
Alexios Xanthopoulos 616		-1347
Manuel Chageres 30344	O	1350-1369

Κριτὴς τοῦ Φωσσάτου

Constantine Cheilas 30766	O,S	1289-1293
Gabras 3364		
Alexios Diplobatatzes 5510[68]	O,S	1322
Michael Kaballarios Sophianos 26411	O,S	1324,in Morea
Senachereim 25140=25145	O	1336
Maurophoros 17504	O	1348-1356,Serbia

Πρωταλλαγάτωρ (Ml?)

Aspietes 1571		1326
Manuel Senachereim 25152=25138?		(1321)-1333
Gazes 91580	O	1344
The two brothers Melanchrenoi 17625		1344

Βεστιάριος

Andrea Morisco		-1305
Zeianos 6514		ca.1322
Manuel 16680	O	1337

Στρατοπεδάρχης τῶν Μονοκαβάλλων (Ml?)

John Choumnos 30953	O,S	1344

Στρατοπεδάρχης without specification (Ml?)

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[66]See Pach.Iii, 492, n.1

[67]A Constantine without last name and an Edessenos without first name hold this office at two years' distance. I suggest that they are the same person.

[68]And not 1307, as in Guillou, *Ménécée*, 41 and the PLP. Guillou's misdating is due to the fact that he thought Diplobatatzes was *Megas Hetaireiarches* in 1310 (DVL I, 83). But he was a simple *hetaireiarches*, therefore the Prodromos document must be after, not before 1310.

Tarchaneiotes 27472		ca.1344
Demetrios Xanthopoulos 5335		-1347/8
	Ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀναμνήσεων[69]	
Constantinos Spinges 26545	O	1333,1342
((Philip) Logaras) 14990		ca.1337
Meletios Skoutariotes 26191		1342-1359
	Προκαθήμενος τοῦ Κοιτῶνος	
George Chatzikes 30724	O,S	ca.1305/6
Michael Kallikrenites 10371	O,S	1321,1330/31
	Προκαθήμενος τοῦ Βεστιαρίου	
Nicholas Panaretos 21652	O	-1274
John Kannaboures 10865		1308
	Δομέστικος τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν Θεμάτων (Ad)	
Manuel Sgouropoulos 25029	O,S	1286-1293
Michael Atzymes 1633	S	1310's
Alexios Apokaukos 1180	O	-1321?
	Δομέστικος τῶν Δυτικῶν Θεμάτων (Ad)	
Nicholas Kerameas 11641	S	1284
Papylas 21827?		Bef.1307
Saponopoulos 24842		
Zomes 6651		bef.1324
George Strategos 26902	O,S	1317,1325-1330
Constantine Makrenos 16365	O,S	1333-1339
	Προκαθήμενος τῶν Βλαχερνῶν	
Pepanos 22379		1328
	Λογαριαστὴς τῆς Αὐλῆς (Ad)	
Manuel Angelos 215		under John III
Kassandrenos 11313	O,S	1319
	Μέγας Διοικητής	
Theodore Kabasilas 10090	O,S	1315-1322
Glabas 4215	O	1330,1336,bef.1344
John Doukas Balsamon 91427=5694?	S	1355
	Ἑταιρειάρχης	
Alexios Komnenos Diplobatatzes 5510	O,S	1310
Andronikos Exotrochos 6081		1313
Apokaukos 1179		betw.1325-1328
Manuel Blachernites 2829		1328

[69]Also a church offikion. Particularly Logaras may be a church and not a court dignitary.

Glabas 4214	O	1336
John Panaretos 21641	O,S	1338
Anataulas 870		bef.1342
Andronikos Tzimiskes 27950		1342/3-
John Gabras 3358		1348,Serrai
	Ἄρχων τοῦ Ἀλλαγίου	
George (Phroues...) 30188		1328
	Μέγας Μυρταΐτης	
George Prokopes 23823		1328

Table II: A list of rank-holders from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries
(o=οἰκεῖος, δ=δοῦλος of the emperor)
(κ.=κῦρ in imperial documents)

a. SEBASTOI

Constantine Kaloeidas[1]	δ	1208	
k.George Phokas[2]		1213-14	potentate in Asia Minor
Mauros Mpogdanopoulos[3]		early 13th c.	potentate
Stephen Gabras[4]		"	"
John Kastamonites[5]		"	had villages
Gregory Kamonas[6]		"	local lord
Leo Moschopoulos[7]		"	was forced to marry
Primpos[8]		"	
Bardas Atouemes[9]		1216	
Isaac Kokalas	δ	1217?	landowner
John Strategopoulos[10]	δ	1217?	grand logothete
MIchael Chilarenos[11]		1217	
Isaac Taronas[12]		1219 or 1224	pronoia holder
Demetrios Kata Phloron[13]		ca.1220	governor of Corfou
Basil Lizikos[14]		"	
Alexios Pediadites[15]		"	
George Pediadites[16]		"	
John Plytos[17]	o	"	mesazon
k.John Ises[18]		1221	protostrator
Isaac Doukas 5691		bef.1222?	parakoimomenos
John Alethinos 641	δ	1225	landowner
k.Alexios Krateros	o	1216-1232	doux Thrakesion
k.Michael Kadianos[19]	δ	ca.1232	vestiarites

[1]MM IV, 184
[2]MM V, 256-257
[3]Chom. 517
[4]Chom. 539
[5]Bees/ Apok.,58
[6]Chom. 1ff, 23ff
[7]Chom. 537
[8]Ibid. 326
[9]MM VI, 175
[10]MM IV, 295
[11]MM IV, 290. Called "panhypersebastos sebastos" in the document, but there may be an error.
[12]Bees/ Apok., 59
[13]Chom. 155
[14]Chom. 194-195
[15]Chom.177-8
[16]Ibid. 105
[17]Chom. 11, 1o5, 125, 133, 199, 446
[18]Patmos I.13, Acr.I. 38,40
[19]MM IV, 36, 50, 145, 146, 190

John Alopos[20]		1234-1236	prokathemenos, pronoia holder
k.Isaac Lebounes[21]	o?	1232-1235	vestiarites
Phagomodes[22]	o?	1235	vestiarites
k.Theodore Ikanatos[23]	o	1238-1239	doux Thrakesion
k.Manuel Kontophre[24]	o	1240	doux Thrakesion
Alexios Pegonites[25]	δ	1240	doux of Thessalonica
John Angelos[26]		13th c.	
Palamas[27]		"	
Symeon[28]		"	
Michael Hyaleas[29]		1217or 1232, 1252	ambassador
Nicholas Kampanos 10832	δ	1240-1262	prokathemenos, apographeus
Demetrios Karykes[30]		bef.1350	consul of the philosophers
Niketas Tapeinos[31]		1258	"imperial man"
Theodotos Kalothetos	δ,θεῖος	1259	doux Thrakesion, domestikos
Nikephoros Lostaras 15234	δ	1258-1268	"imperial man"
k.Constantine Chadenos 30346	o	1258-1274	held various middle-low offices
Nikephoros Rhimpsas 24291=24292	o	1259-1286	army commander
George Kaloeidas 10559		1257-1288?	prokathemenos, landowner
k.Theodore Krybitziotes 13838	o	1260-(1275)	doux Thrakesion, ambassador
Demetrios Spartenos 26495	δ	1262	apographeus
David Broullas 3232	δ	1264,1267	apographeus
George Petritzes 23032		1266	stratiotes
Basil Metretopoulos 17987	γαμβρός	1267-1280	kephale, logothete tou dromou
Michael Apelmene 1158		1268	
k.Demetrios Iatropoulos 7968	o	1260-1295	logothetes ton oikeiakon
John Amaseianos[32]	δ	1273	small landowner
Goudellios Kannabes 10856	o	1273	tax-collector
George Petritzes 23033	δ	1274-1286	stratiotes
Nikephoros Arrianites 1313		1277	m. tzaousios
k. Theodore Mouzalon 19439		1277-1294	mesazon
k.Demetrios Syr Mourinos 19512	o	1279-1281	protobestiarites, pronoia owner
Nicholas Moschamperos 19346		1280	

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[20]Ahrweiler, "Smyrne", 157
[21]Ibid., 159
[22]Ibid., 160
[23]MM IV, 215
[24]MM IV, 249
[25]Chom. 451, Goudas, "Βυζαντιακὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς ἐν Ἄθῳ Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τοῦ Βατοπεδίου" in *EEBS* 4, 211ff
[26]Lampros, *NE* 11(1914), 406
[27]Ibid.
[28]Ibid.
[29]MM IV, 290, Akrop. I 92-96. The exact title is "protopansebastos", which may well be different from a simple sebastos.
[30]Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, 50
[31]MM IV, 55
[32]Iviron III, 111

Demetrios Spartenos 26496	o	1284	
Nicholas Kerameas 11641		1284	domestikos of Western themes
k.Constantine Cheilas 30766	o	1283-1293	apographeus,krites tou fossatou
John Spartenos 26502	δ	1284-1295	prokathemenos of Thessalonica
Peter Doukopoulos 5707	δ	1284-1323	pronoia holder
Kabasilas 10067		1282,1296	aktouarios
Theodore Tetragonites 27598		1286	stratiotes, land owner
k.Theodore Nomikopoulos 20698		1288	lord in the Morea
Michael 19134		1289/90	ktetor of a church in Laconia
Andronikos Spartenos 26494		1295	
Demetrios Tsogrebes 29401		1296/7	ktetor of a church in Laconia
k.Manuel Sgouropoulos 25029	o	1286-1308	domestikos of Eastern themes
Basil Tziskos 27988		end of 13th c.	ktetor of church in Akarnania
Basil Sebastianos 25066		ca.1300	house owner, founder of church
k.Demetrios Apelmene 1155	o	1300-1304	apographeus
Manuel Deblitzenos 5174		1301	pronoia holder, tzaousios
k.Nikephoros Choumnos	o,συμπένθερος	1286-1327	various hgh offices, mesazon
Basil Atzymes 1626		late 13th-early 14th	
Klibanares 11837		"	ktetor of a church
Pamphilos 21593		"	associated with the palace
Pharmakes 29643		bef.1304	landowner
Papylas 21827		bef.1307	apographeus
Hyaleas 29467		bef. 1310	m.adnoumiastes
k.George Chatzikes 30724	o	1305-1325	epi ton deeseon
Dermokaites 5204		1306-1307	
k.Manuel Batrachonites 2529	o	1300-1315	m.adnoumiastes
John Theologites 7524		bef. 1310	
Constantine Pangalos 21264	o	1305,1313	property owner
Constantine Tzyrapes 28160	o	1303-1324	doux,kephale,apographeus
k.Manuel Theologites 7517	o	1312or1327	fiscal official
k.Nicholas Theologites 7518	o	1312-1317	apographeus
Joseph Tzyringes 28166		bef.1314	landowner
Gregory Moschopoulos 19371		1315	
k.Demetrios Kontenos 13048	δ	1315-1319	apographeus
Eustathios Kinnamos 11718		1316	property owner
John Polemianites 23468	o	1316	
Theodore Lakastas 14380		1316	from the Morea
Kalodikes 10538		1316	From the Morea
Manuel Stephanites 26756		1316	from the Morea
Andronikos Ierakites 8093		1316,1319	judge, ambassador
Michael Atzymes 1633		1308-1319	Domestikos, koiaistor
Tryphon Kedrenos 11604	δ	1315-1316	orphanotrophos, apographeus
k.Theodore Kabasilas 10090	o	1315-1327	m.dioiketes,logoth. of the army
k.George Strategos 26902	o	1317-1330	apographeus, domestikos
Alyates 710		bef.1318	landowner
k.Alexios Diplobatatzes 5510	o	1310,1322	hetaireiarches, krites

k.Constantine Kounales 13477	o	1318-1319	apographeus
Kasandrenos 11313	o	1319	logariastes of the court
k.Constantine Pergamenos22420	δ	1319-1321	apographeus
Sgouros 25044		1321	prokathemenos of Ioannina
Euthymios Kardames 92331		bef.1322	stratiotes
k.Nikephoros Martinos 17201	o	1317-1325	pronoia-holder
George Anataulas 872		1322	witness in Thessalonica
Athanasios (Monomachos?)[33]		1322	prokathemenos, landowner
k.John Tzymiskes 27952	o	1322	landowner
Leo Kalognomos 10529[34]	δ	after 1322	prokathemenos
Michael Kallikrenetes 10371	o	1308-1331	prok. tou koitonos, ambassador
Palates 21559		bef.1323	owner of paroikoi and land
k.John Orestes 21100	o	1323	owner of houses and paroikoi
John Rhammatas[35]	δ	1324	
Basil Sebastianos 25067		1324	
k.Michael Kaballarios Sophianos 26411	o	1324	krites tou fossatou
Constantine Mouzalon 19442		1324	house owner
k.Manuel Tzymiskes 27955	o	1324-1327	apographeus
k.Theodore Sarantenos 24906	o	1324-1330	skouterios, landowner
k.Stephen Syropoulos 27218	o	1324,1332	ambassador
Michael Sabentzes 24658	δ	1325	stratiotes, pronoia holder
Theodore Kapandrites 11010	o	1326	skouterios?
k.Manuel Theologites 7517	o	1327	fiscal official
John Migiares 19838		1328	official in Thessaly
Nikephoros Choumnos 30960	δ	1330	physician
Theodore Lykoudas 15213		ca.1332	had authority in Aulon
k.Constantine Achyraites 1720	o	1333	landowner
k.Manuel Liberos 14889		1334	doux of Voleron,Serrai et c.
Alexios Hyaleas 29470	o	1333-1336	m.adnoumiastes
Michael Kaloeidas 10569		ca.1335	
Nicholas Sarantenos 24915		1335	
John Trichas 29349	δ	1335	
k.Constantine Makrenos 16356	o	1333-1344	apographeus,logothete of flocks
John Oinaiotes 21027	δ	1336	apographeus
Sgouropoulos 25007		bef.1338	landowner
k.John Panaretos 21641	o	1338	apographeus, pronoia owner
Theodore Patrikiotes 22077	o	1319-1341	apographeus
Theodore Deblitzenos 5170	o	1328-1342	pronoia holder, official
k.Michael Senachereim Monomachos 19295,19306	o	1319-1344	various high offices
Mesopotamites 17594		1342	landowner
Constantine Prasinos 23681[36]	o	1342	property owner

[33] Chil.83, 177

[34] When Kalognomos is still apographeus, ca. 1315-1320, he is not a sebastos and the emperor does not adress him either as "kyr" or as "oikeios".

[35] Iviron III, 288-289

[36] Correct reference to : MM I , 231

k.Constantine Edessenos 5060=14177	o	1342-1344	orphanotrophos, apographeus
k.John Choumnos 30953	o	1344	stratopedarches, landowner
k.George Katzaras 11490	o	1351	m.adnoumiastes
Tetragonites 27594		1355	in Melnik

b.MEGALODOXOTATOI

Basil Blatteros[37]	o	1207	vestiarites
George Eunouchos[38]		1208-1213	protovestiarios, landowner
John Eudaimonitzes[39]		1209	praktor
Andronikos Mauropodos[40]		1216	subordinate to the doux Thrak.
Helen Melissene[41]		bef.1224	
Alexios Pyrrhos[42]		"	
Leo Pyrrhos[43]		"	
George Alyates[44]		early 13th c.	son-in-law of a paroikos
Alexios Arrabonites[45]		"	
John Plytos[46]		"	before becoming mesazon?
Theodore (Bestarches)[47]		"	Doux of Verroia
Constantine Pegonites[48]		"	Doux of Verroia
Nikephoros Mykaris[49]		"	Doux of Vela
Demetrios Bousiotes[50]		"	
Nikephoros Gostilopoulos[51]		"	archon
Constantine Markopoulos[52]		"	archon
John Paschales[53]		"	archon
Manuel Monomachos[54]		"	stratiotes
Basil Euripiotes[55]		"	
Opsaras[56]		"	kastrophylax

[37] MM IV, 186
[38] MM VI, 152ff.
[39] MM VI, 153
[40] Patmos II **61**, 138
[41] Bees/ Apok. 59
[42] Ibid. 58-59
[43] Ibid.
[44] Chom. 423ff
[45] Chom. 429
[46] Chom. 11, 105, 125, 133, 199, 446
[47] Chom. 446
[48] Chom. 395, 525
[49] Chom. 367
[50] Chom. 191
[51] A.Papadopoulos Kerameus, "Συνοδικὰ γράμματα Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀποκαύκου", *Byzantis* 1, p.21
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid., p.27
[55] Chom. 105
[56] Bees/Apok. 154

John Perdos (Pardos?)[57]		"	
Andronikos Skoutariotes[58]		"	
Adrianos Syropoulos[59]		"	landowner
Constantine Tzyrithnos[60]		"	pronoia holder
George Doukopoulos[61]		ca.1240	subordinate to the doux of Thess.
George Chalazas[62]		1240	
k.George Monochytras 19313	o	1246	second ktetor of Kechionismene
Basil Moroutzikos 19923		1266	
George Manteianos 16768		1280	stratiotes
Constantine Kerameas 11639		1284,ca.1289	
Petros Koutzoulatos 13632		1284,ca.1290	
Demetrios Goules 4351		ca.1290	
Kalos Philaretos 29795		ca.1290, 1295	
Leo Monasteriotes 19261		1293	imperial vestiarites
John Primmikeropoulos 23764		1309	
Demetrios Blattes 91521		1311-1313	
John Prebezianos 23697		1313	
George Rhammatas 24078		1327	
John Charsianites 30685		1339	manager of an imp.village

c.MEGALYPEROCHOI

Nicholas Gorianites[63]	ca.1220-1230	doux of Acheloos
Alexios Pegonites[64]	ca.1233	doux of Thessalonica
Nicholas Brentesiotes[65]	1240	
George Glabas 4220	1301	
Demetrios Sgouros 25051	1327	archon in Thess/ca
George Allelouias 676	1327	"
Athanasios Kabakes 10015	1327	archon, goldsmith in Thess/ca

d. MEGALEPIPHANESTATOI

Gregory Gabras[66]	early 13th c.	proistamenos of a village

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[57]Chom. 190
[58]Chom. 105
[59]Bees/Apok. 242
[60]Petrides/Apok. 19
[61]Goudas , *op.cit.*, p.212
[62]Ibid. p.215
[63]Bees/Apok. 63
[64]Chom. 451. Later becomes sebastos: Goudas, *op.cit.*, 211ff., whose correct date is 1240.
[65]Goudas , *op.cit.*,, 215.
[66]Chom. 539

Imerios[67]	"	
Komanos[68]	"	imperial hypotagatos
Constantine Lampetes[69]	"	
Alexios Hypatos[70]	"	
Nicholas Tzachenos[71]	"	in imperial service?
Manuel Stases[72]	"	despotic hypotagatos
George Skores[73]	"	was married by coercion

e. VARIOUS TITLES

Nikephoros Gorianites[74]	panhyperentimotatos	ca.1219-1222	mesazon
Michael Laskaris[75]	panendoxotatos	1240	
k.John Apokaukos 1188	sebastopanhypertatos	1277	court official
Marmaras 17098	protonobelissimos	1277?	pronoia holder

[67]Ibid. 38ff.
[68]Ibid 235
[69]Ibid. 165, 501
[70]Ibid. 205
[71]Ibid. 75, 318
[72]Ibid. 92
[73]Ibid. 517
[74]Bees/Apok. 90, 189
[75]Goudas, *op.cit.*, p.215. May not be a rank, however his signature comes before that of the sebastoi.

TABLE III: Aristocratic landowners in Europe under the Palaiologoi (until the middle of the fourteenth century)

Name of owner	Description/value of property	Origin and conditions of holding
Agape Angelina[1]	1 *zeugelateion* (~3,400m. of land). Nominal value: 300 ounces of gold. Sold for 200 oz.	From inheritance (*gonikothen)*. Has full rights. Sells it
Angelos[2]	1 *zeugelateion*	Full rights of transmission (given as dowry)
Andronikos Angelos Palaiologos[3]	Land	Unknown details
	Land inside Vodena (with a church); properties inside and around the city (houses, land for building, workshops, vineyards, gardens, fields, mills); the village Amoriane	From inheritnce (*apo gonikotetos*). Full rights of transmission (given as dowry)
John Angelos1[4]	200 m. of land	Full rights of transmission (donated)
John Angelos2[5]	1 *metochion* w. fields and vineyards	Full rights of transmission (donated)
Maria Akropolitissa[6]	Urban properties (buildings, orchards, vineyards, 1 church, 1 bathhouse); sold for a price of 4,000 hyp.	Full rights of transmission (sold)
John Amaseianos[7]	1 field. Sold for 265 hyp.	From wife's dowry. Full rights of transmission (sold)
Nikeph. Archon[8]	Cultivated fields, urban houses	Full rights of transmission (given as dowry. Still owned by his descendents half a century later)
Demetrios Asan[9]	1 estate	Inherited(?*apo gonikotetos*). Full rights of transmission

[1]Lavra III , app.XIII
[2]Patr.Reg.I **23**, 232
[3]Schreiner, "Zwei Praktika", 34; Lavra III, 103
[4]Chil.**32**, 76=Dölger, *Schatzkammer*, 41
[5]Lappa-Zizicas, "Un chrysobulle inédit en faveur du monastère des Saints Anargyres de Kosmidion", 267
[6]MM 1, 312
[7]Iviron III**61**, 111
[8]Patr.Reg.II **173**, 506ff
[9]Xérop.**26**, 193-196; **29**, 212

John Asan[10]	1 monastery, with villas and fields	Imperial grant. Conditions unknown
Aspietes[11]	Properties near Berroia	Origin unknown. But after a dispute the properties were confirmed by the emperor.
Leo Bardales[12]	Oikonomia, total amount unknown. Included taxes from Paroikoi	By imp. grant (as oikonomia). Confiscated in 1342
Nikeph. Basilikos[13]	Oikonomia, 100 hyp./year	By imp. grant. Unknown conditions
Bodeses (several persons)[14]	Oikonomia, incl. lands and paroikoi	The lands by imp. grant. The paroikoi were perhaps brought and settled by the owners themselves
Dem. Deblitzenos[15]	Oikonomia, 400 hyp./year	By imp. grant. A *posotes* of 100 hyp. was made *gonike* by the emperor. Inher. by his son
Theod.Deblitzenos[16]	Oikonomia, 33 hyp./year	By imp. grant. Taken away from him (perhaps replaced?)
Manuel Dioiketes[17]	Land, 150m.	By imp. grant. Confiscated
Alex.Diplobatatzes[18]	Oikonomia, incl. a field of 1,000 m.	By imp. grant. The field is made *gonikon*. Only right of transmission to children mentioned. Also right to improve the land.
Doukopoulos[19]	Paroikoi; a mill	The paroikoi were probably inherited by him (*gonikothen*). He inherited the mill from a paroikos by right of lordship
Demetrios Doukopoulos[20]	300 m. of land (incl. 7 m. of vineyards.	By imperial grant (through praktikon). He donated it, but the donation had to be confirmed by the emperor.

[10]Greg.II, 797
[11]Theocharides, *Diatheke*, 26
[12]Lemerle, "Praktikon de Karakalla", 284
[13]Guillou, *Ménécée* **27**, 96
[14]Bees, Meteora, 62ff, 75
[15]Doch.**26**, 185-186
[16]Zogr. **XXVII**, 62
[17]Lemerle, *op.cit.*, 285
[18]Guillou, *Ménécée* **2**, 41
[19]Doch.**11**, 118-119
[20]Xénoph.,86, 92

Peter Doukopoulos[21]	Pronoia; in its lands he built a mill	By imp.grant (except for the mill). No right of transmission, except for the mill, which he donated
Peter Doukopoulos2[22]	Oikonomia, incl. a piece of land (>300m.) of an income of 20 hyp./year	By imp. grant. The piece of land is taken from him.
Dragon[23]	1 zeugelateion, incl. *proskathemenoi* paroikoi	Originally burdened with *douleia*. The emperor grants it the status of "free" and "*kata logon gonikotetos*"=(here) full rights of transmission;immunity, right to ameliorate the land
Michael Hierakes[24]	1 small monastery, 1 building, 1 tower, 1 warehouse, >1,500 m. of land, 3 pairs of oxen, 100 sheeps, 10 pigs, 1 mare, 1 young horse, 1 windmill, 50 m. of vineyards	Granted or confirmed by the emperor. Full rights of transmission (donated)
	Churches, land with *proskathemenoi*, vineyards, mills	Origin unknown (perhaps part of the same group of properties as above). Donated, but the donation was confirmed by the emp.
George Isaris[25]	Paroikoi, with the land they cultivated	Taken away by the state during his lifetime
Basil and John Kaballarioi[26]	1 estate	Inherited (*gonikothen*). Divided and transmitted to heirs.
Kabasilas[27]	1 village	By imp. grant. He exchanged with a village of the metropolis of Ioannina, also held by imp.grant. Later his village was re-ganted to others
Demetrios Kabasilas[28]	Income of 250 hyp./year, from land in various villages	By imperial grant. *Kata logon gonikotetos*: Only the right of transmission to children mentioned

[21]Iviron III **66**, 128-129. He did not have the right for transmission, since the *epiteleia* for the mill (unlike the ownership) is only granted to Iviron for as long as he is alive. He had full rights on the ownership of the mill since he built it himself.

[22]Zogr.**XXXIV**, 80; Chil.**100**, 209; **102**, 212; also pp. 228, 237, 239, 274, 293. Unlike the PLP (5707), I do not think that the *Sebastos* of 1292 is identical to the page (*paidopoulos*) of 1324

[23]Chil.**96**, 203-204

[24]Kutlumus **24**, 98-99; Dionysiou **3**, 49-50

[25]Solovjev-Mošin, *Povelje*, 142

[26]Patr.Reg.II **139**, 304ff.

[27]MM V, 86-87= Lampros in NE 12, p.40

[28]Dionysiou **2**, 46

Theodora Kantakouzene [29]	1 estate, incl.: *1 urban monastery, encircled by 2 gardens * urban properties: houses, 1 oven, 3 workshops to be rented, 1 garden, 1 vineyard *several other vineyards *1 *zeugelateion*= 1,500 m.(in two parts), 2 pairs of oxen, 100 sheep	From purchase. Had full rights of transmission
	1 *zeugelateion* ("tou Tzainou")	Unknown origin. Held in common with her son Confiscated. See under John Kantakouzenos
	700 modioi of land in Lemnos	Full rights of transmission (donated)
	1,398.3m. (mostly arable but incl. vineyards)	Purchased from various individuals. Full rights of transmission (donated)
Andronikos Kantakouzenos[30]	1 estate ("Beltzistha")	By imperial grant. *Kata logon gonikotetos*: full rights of transmission (given as dowry; see below, Demetrios Tornikes)
John Kantakouzenos[31]	1 *zeugelateion* ("tou Tzainou"); part of it were 1 abandoned vineyard (8m.) and 1 mill, of a combined income of 3 hyp./year. Also 1,000m. of bad quality land, corresponding to 20 hyp./year.	Confiscated
	His total livestock, estimated by himself: 5,000 grazing cows and bulls, 1,000 pairs of plow-oxen, 2,500 mares,200 camels, 300 mules,500 donkeys, 50,000 pigs, 70,000 sheeps	Unknown details
Kasandrenos[32]	1 *zeugelateion*	Taken away by the emperor
Kasandrenos2[33]	Pronoia/oikonomia of 40 hyp./year	Taken away by the emperor

[29]Kutlumus 18, 86-87 (the estate of Eleousa); Kravari, "Philothéou", 307 (Tzainou); Goudas in EEBS 4, p.247 (land in Lemnos); Mavrommatis, "Notes", passim (the various plots of land)

[30]Pantel.12, 104-105

[31]Lemerle, "Praktikon de Karakala", 285 (Tzainou): note that the same property was ascribed to his mother in Kravari, "Philothéou", 307. We may have to do with a case of joint ownership, unless Theodora had died just before the writing of the praktikon and the author knew it. For the livestock, see Kantak.II, 185

[32]Chil.41, 107;42, 110; 43, 112

[33]Chil.46, 117. Perhaps he is the same as the previous one, but this one bears no title. In plus it is strange why the Grand Logariastes would have a concession of a military type (pronoia)

George Katzaras[34]	Oikonomia: 2,400 m. of land= 48 hyp./year	Made *gonike* by the emperor: right of transmission to children only, the obligation of service (*douleia*) remains. His son never got the land.
Demetrios Kokalas[35]	Lands and paroikoi	By imperial grant. No transmission rights mentioned. At least part of them are taken away by Steph.Dushan
Leo Koteanitzes[36]	Arable land, with mills and walnut-trees	By imperial grant. It is given free of *douleia*, with unlimited rights of transmission and complete fiscal immunity
Const.Laskaris[37]	600 m. of land	Taken away by the emperor
Maliasenoi[38]	*Properties in area of Demetrias attached to their monasteries: vineyards, fields,mountain and flat land, mills, *proskathemenoi* paroikoi, the church of St.Onouphrios, a deserted plot, the villages of Krypous and Kapraina (the latter of an income of 50 hyp./year)	Unknown origins. Their attachment to the monasteries confirmed by imperial charters. they become tax-exempt, exept for *kastroktisia* and *katergoktisia*.
	*Paroikoi in Dryanoubaina (possibly the whole village)	Unknown details
Manuel the *vestiarios*[39]	1,850m. of land	Granted by the emperor *kata logon gonikotetos*. He did not have the right to donate the land himself but the emperor gave it to Docheiariou at Manuel's demand
George Margarites[40]	An oikonomia	Unknown details
	A separate *posotes* of 50 hyp./year (paroikoi and land, separately)	Given by the emperor as tax-exempt and *kata logon gonikotetos*. Only the right of transmission to children mentioned. Also right of melioration

[34]Doch.**27**, 188; cf.ibid. **41**, 233-234. In the latter case, the fiscal officials claimed that the right of transmission was not valid, since there was no *paradosis* by a fiscal functionary giving the oikonomia to George alone (without his company of soldiers). Yet the earlier chrysobull to George was very clear in granting the oikonomia (which had previously been given to the company as a whole) to George Katzaras personally.

[35]Lavra III **130**, 43-44

[36]Chil.**11**, 28-29

[37]Dölger, *Schatzkammer*, 37-38

[38]MM IV, 330-430

[39]Doch..,**18** 142-143

[40]Kravari, *Philothéou*, 297-298

John Margarites[41]	Land and vineyards	By state grant (through *apographike paradosis*) Originally paying a tax of 9 hyp./year. Then granted immunity and the right of transmission to his heirs. Later donated.
	A *posotes* of 55 hyp./year (paroikoi and land, in various places)	By imp.grant. "Free" and held "*kata logon gonikotetos*". Only right of transmission to children mentioned, but later he sold part of it.
	Unspecified properties in various places	By grant of the Byzantine emperor, confirmed by Stephen Dushan. Donated
Marmaras[42]	The village Trinovos, as pronoia	By imperial *horismos*
Nikeph.Martinos[43]	Oikonomia. Part of it is a field, with income 24(later 30) hyp./year.	By state grant (through *praktikon*). The field is taken away and replaced with an equivalent *posotes*
John Masgidas[44]	Fields in Kotzakion, >300 imp. modioi	Probably from his wife's dowry. Full rights of transmission: most of them are sold, the 300 imp. modioi are donated
	1 zeugelateion in Kotzakion (Kocak) (land, vineyards, mills, paroikoi); urban houses (in Zichna?)	Origin??(related to above property?). Part is from purchase. Taken away by Steph. Dushan in 1349. Reverts to him, is donated in 1351

[41]Guillou, *Ménécée* **36**, 119; **39**, 129 (the land and vineyards. No first name given, but the identification is probable in view of the special circumstances -the outbreak of the civil war- that gained for Margarites the favor of the government); Lemerle, "Praktikon de Karakala", 281f.(the posotes). Also Kravari, *Philothéou*, 307. A sort of mystery surrounds the persons of this Margarites and the preceding one ("George"). The properties attributed to George Margarites in a chrysobull of Novenber 1342 are partly identical to those that had been attributed to John Margarites in January of that year, at the orders of Guy de Lusignan, governor of Macedonia. In plus, although both documents appear to be genuine, in the document of Philotheou the name "George" was written subsequently over an apparently erased different name. To complicate things further, Kravari believes that this "correction" was done by the same scribe of the imperial chancery who wrote the rest of the document. She concludes that we have to do with two different persons and that the properties that appear identical are only situated in the same places (*op.cit.*, 292-296). I think it more likely that the imperial chrysobull of November 1342 was indeed originally intented for John Margarites, officially granting to him the "posotes" that had been given to him by Guy in January, with some changes in the properties that composed it. It is not clear, though, why the grant was transferred to this George (probably a son or close relative of John). John was not dead, since he was alive in 1348, with the rank of Grand Hetaireiarch (Solovjev-Mošin, *Povelje*, 142). Perhaps in the between he was deemed worthy of higher rewards and his initial "posotes" was transferred to some relative who joined the loyalist cause.

[42]MM IV, 419

[43]Guillou, *Ménécée* **7**, 51; **16**, 69f.;**17**,71f.; **22**, 83

[44]Iviron III **81**, 288-289, IV, (fields in Kotzakion); Pantel.**11**, 99; serb **I**, 158 (Kocak, Dragosta); Kravari, *Philothéou*, 308 (Kraniare)

	The village Dragosta	From inheritance (*apo gonikotetos*). Taken away by Stephen Dushan in 1349. In 1353 (after Masgidas' death), John V gives it to St.Panteleemon
	1 zeugelateion ("Kraniare")	From purchase by the *archontopouloi* of Zichna (imperial grant to them as *gonikon*). Donated
Maurophoros[45]	Urban houses, vineyards, fields, a *kathisma*, incl. fields, buildings and a garden	From inheritance, dowry, purchase and imperial grant. Full rights of transmission (donated)
	1 *zeugelateion* and 1 *metochion*	Unknown origin. Full rights of transmission (donated)
Theodosios Melissenos[46]	1 monastery, w. estates, *proskathemenoi* and water-mills	The properties and capital invested were his own, but his possession was confirmed by three successive imperial charters
Manuel Mesopotamites[47]	Oikonomia, income>20 hyp./year	By imp. grant. From the whole, 20 hyp./year are given "*kata logon gonikotetos*". The rights mentioned are to make ameliorations and to transmit the land to his direct heirs.
Alexios Metochites[48]	13,000m. of land	From inheritance (his mother's dowry). Full rights of transmission (donated)
Michael Senachereim Monomachos[49]	Oikonomia. Includes a *posotes* of 50 hyp./year which consists in taxes from paroikoi, lands (both cultivated and marshy) and rights to fisheries.	By imp. grant. Those 50 hyp./year are freed from *douleia* and made into *gonike*. But later they are taken from him and given elsewhere.
Demetrios Mourinos[50]	5 villages with a combined income of 830 hyp./year; a field with transhumant settlers; 1 winter pasture with an abandoned village	First granted by various officials (probably on imperial command), then all together confirmed by a chrysobull; it grants immunity (except for *kastroktisia* and *katergoktisia*); the right to make melioration; full rights of transmission

45Solovjev-Mošin, *Povelje*, 142-144; Goudas, "Βυζαντιακὰ γράμματα τῆς ἐν Ἄθῳ ἱερᾶς μονῆς τοῦ Βατοπεδίου", *EEBS* 4, p.240
46Chil. **64**, 150-151
47Ibid.**132**, 276-277
48Regel, *Batopediou*, 27ff.
49Zogr.**XXIX**, 68-71; **XXXI**, 73
50Doch. **9**, 108-109

Theodore Nomikopoulos[51]	The village Kranidion	From inheritance (*gonikon*). His possession is confirmed by chrysobull. Conditional upon service (*douleia*). Right of transmission to his children only
John Orestes[52]	Houses, people (paroikoi or household slaves), 100m. of land	Partly from dowry (originally an imperial grant to his father-in-law). Possession confirmed by chrysobull, grant of fiscal immunity
Theodore Padyates[53]	1 estate	Origin unknown. At his death, it reverted, temporarily, to the crown, then was given back as compensation for his daughter-in-law's wasted dowry
Anna Palaiologina[54]	1 vineyard	Origin unknown. "Free and tax-exempt" through imperial chrysobull
	2 vineyards	Inherited (*apo gonikotetos perielthonta*); possession confirmed by chrysobull
Theodora Palaiologina[55]	1 estate. Income of 300 hyp./year. Sold for 3,000 hyp.	Unkown origin. Full rights of transmission (sold)
Alexios Palaiologos[56]	Land, >200 m.	Probably by imperial grant. 200 m. are taken away by the emperor
Andreas Palaiologos[57]	1,000m. of land and 2 paroikoi	From imp. grants. Later granted unlimited rights of transmission
Const. Palaiologos[58]	Oikonomia of 60,000 hyp./year. Allegedly it would be increased to 100,000 hyp./year	Granted by Michael VIII. Confiscated by Andronikos II
Const. Palaiologos?[59]	1 estate; 1 field (much larger then 600m,)	*Gonika*(from inheritance?). Bequeathed to his two daughters

[51]Dölger, *Paraspora*, 192
[52]Goudas, *op.cit.*, pp.226ff.
[53]Patr.Reg.I **101**, 570-572
[54]Lappa-Zizicas, *op.cit.*, 267
[55]Zogr.**XXII**, 49
[56]Guillou, *Ménécée* **28**, 97-98
[57]Lavra III **124**, 27
[58]Pach.II, 157, 161
[59]Ark. Batopedinos in *Gregorios ho Palamas* 3, p.439. Constantine Palaiologos is the father of Theodora Synadene (if, as I believe, she is the real author of the document; see above, ch.II, n.127)

John Panaretos[60]	Oikonomia >30 hyp./year	By imp. grant. The income of 30 hyp./year is confirmed as immune and made *kata logon gonikotetos*: only the right of transmission to direct heirs is mentioned
Kosmas Pankalos[61]	1,050m. of land 1 oven, 1 courtyard with a well, 9 houses, 1 2-storied h. all of a value of 660 hyp.	From purchase
	1 oven, 1 2-storied house, 1 wine-press,various other buildings	Built by himself on the above-mentioned purchased proeprties.
	4 str. of vineyards, value 35 hyp. 1 vineyard (3 str.), value 8 hyp.	From purchase From purchase
	1 church, surrounded by buildings,3 gardens, 1 vineyard	Built and cultivated by himself, on land ceded by the metropolis of Serrai
	3 workshops, 7 str. of vineyards	Unclear origin (imperial grant?) *All of the above held with full rights of transmission (donated)*
Manuel Angelos Patrikios[62]	Various villages. They include 1 *zeugelateion* with *proskathemenoi*	"Through chrysobulls and other documents". The *zeugelateion* is given to him as "free", tax-exempt and *kata logon gonikotetos*: unlimited rights of transmission
Theodore Petraliphas[63]	Fields and vineyards in Hierissos	Probably inherited (the area of Hierissos used to be his family's property). Taken away by the emperor
Pharmakes[64]	1 *zeugelateion* (includes paroikoi (*chrysoboulatoi* and *proskathemenoi*), farm buildings, gardens, land)	Ceded or confirmed by chrysobull. Full rights of transmission
George Pharmakes[65]	Land; the income from the lease of vineyards	By imperial grant. Ceded for his lifetime only
Demetrios Pharmakes[66]	Oikonomia (incl. paroikoi)	By imp. grant. Confiscated

60 Guillou, *Ménécée* **6**, 49
61 Kutlumus **8**, 51-52
62 Chil.**23**, 50-51
63 Iviron III **58**, 92; **59**, 99; **62**, 115; **72**, 185
64 Lavra II **98**, 138ff.
65 Dionysiou **2**, 46
66 Kravari, *Philothéou*, 297

John Philanthropenos[67]	1 monastery with its surrounding lands. Value:72 hyp.	From purchase. Made various ameliorations. Apparently had full rights (although the sale was later cancelled as anti-canonical)
George Phokopoulos[68]	Urban houses; mills; 1 vineyard; 1 *zeugelateion*; 300 m. of land	The houses were purchased or built by him. The origins of the rest are unknown. Possession confirmed by crysobull (of Step.Dushan). The only right mentioned is donation to a monastery.
Michael Pitzikopoulos[69]	1 village	By imp. grant. After his death it is granted to others
Demetrios Plytos[70]	900m. of land and 2 "stasia"(incl. many small plots of land, trees, vineyards, et c.)	By imperial grant. *Kata logon gonikotetos*. After his death the 2 stasia revert to the crown
Preakotzelos[71]	Right to perceive taxes on land, incl. 7 hyp./year from a landowning monastery	By imp. grant. The 7 hyp./year are taken away and replaced with an equivalent posotes
Rhalaina[72]	1 *zeugelateion*	Had the right of transmission to her heirs
Michael Sabentzes[73]	1 piece of land	Held jointly with his father. Sold
	Pronoia of 70 hyp./year (incl. 2,100 m. of land)	By imperial grant. No rights of transmission, at least at first
	The threshing-floors of his paroikoi, 1 field, 1 orchard	Perhaps part of the above pronoia. But held with full rights of transmission, since he donates them
Sarantenos bros.[74]	Oikonomia. Includes 1 church, 700 m. of land, 1 water-mill, 15 m. of gardens and vineyards	By imp. grant. The part described was donated but 20 years later the crown decided that the donation was illegal since they did not have the right of transmission

[67]Patr.Reg.I **93**, 528-530
[68]Guillou, *Ménécée* **44**, 139
[69]Doch.**29**, 192
[70]Xénoph., 158, 167
[71]Guillou, *Ménécée* **29**, 99
[72]Kravari, *Philothéou*, 301
[73]Xérop.**16**, 118, 123, 127; Xénoph.**15**, 139
[74]Xénoph.**23**, 177

Indanes Sarantenos[75]	Pronoia	By imp. grant. Unknown details
	Cultivated land (distinct from the above pronoia)	By imp. grant (N.B.: *prostagma*, not chrysobull). It was *gonike*: full rights of transmission (given as dowry)
Theodore Sarantenos[76]	Pastureland. Income: 5 hyp./year (perhaps part of Kritzista? See below)	Granted through praktikon. It is made "free" and immune; he also gets the right of melioration and settling paroikoi.
	Various estates (probably identical with those below)	From inheritance (*apo gonikotetos*) and dowry. "Free" through the common chrysobulls of Berroia.
	1 *zeugelateion* ("Komanitze"): *600 m. of land and woods; value: 300 hyp. *the rest, together with the adjacent *zeugelateion* Neochorion (Makrychorion) has 15 m. of vineyards (increased after his death to 20 m.), 3,600 m. of cultivated land, 1,000 m. of woodland, 18 households of proskathemenoi	From dowry. Confirmed by chrysobull. *Given as dowry to his daughter. Inherited by his grandchildren *Donated to his monastic foundation
	1 *zeugelateion* ("Skoteinou"): * 40 m. of land * 90 m. of land (value: 122 hyp.) *various properties of peasants, inside the *zeugelateion* (ca. 20 m.). Bought for more than 53 hyp. * 90 m. of land (value of 1/2: 66hyp.) * 3 mills	The whole is donated to his monastery *Inherited from his brother *Purchased *Purchased *Previously jointly owned. Purchased his co-owner's share *Built by himself
	1 *zeugelateion* ("Kritzista"): 1,840 m. of cultivated and uncultivated land	By imp. grant. Full rights of transmission. Donated to his monastery

[75]Lavra II **90**, 85 (the pronoia); Zogr.**XXVIII**, 63-67 (the land)

[76]The two first properties are the only ones mentioned in the chrysobull granted to Sarantenos in 1324 (Theocharides, *Diatheke*, 13). Probably they are identical to the properties enumerated in the other two documents: Sarantenos' testament of 1326 (ibid., 17-27) and the "praktikon" of the properties of the monastery founded by Sarantenos, made for Batopediou (which had acquired it) in 1338 (ibid., 30-31). The latter can be considered as an accurate description of the properties as Sarantenos left them, with minor changes (e.g. an expansion of the vineyards) and with the exception of the properties that were not bequeathed to the monastery (the last item above). From the description it is apparent that the "Neochorion" of the testament is identical to the "Makrychorion" of the praktikon.

	vineyards of 30 m., 300 sheep, 20 buffaloes, 25 cows, 10 mares, 15 horses	Unknown origins. All held with full rights and bequeathed to various recipients
Angelos Senachereim[77]	1 inn (xenodocheion), 4 mills, 1 house, 1 vineyard, 1 orchard	From purchase. Full rights of transmission: bequeathed to his mother. But when she donates them to a monastery, the act is confirmed by the emperor
Sgouropoulos[78]	3,550 m. of land	*Gonike* through the common chrysobulls of Thessalonica. Bequeathed to his wife and son, who sell it
Alexios Palaiologos Soultanos[79]	Oikonomia of 380 hyp./year	By imp. grant. Burdened with "douleia". After his death it passed to his son, but 100 hyp./year were detached fom it and granted to his widow with full rights
Demetrios Spartenos[80]	1 village	By imperial grant. Full rights of transmission (part is donated, part is bequeathed to his sons)
Sphrantzes[81]	Cattle (*boskemata*) around Thessalonica	Unknown details
Leo Spinges[82]	1 field	By imperial grant
Theodore Synadenos[83]	The estate (ktema) or village (chorion) Ezova (incl. 1 metochion, 1 vineyard, 1 mill, land>800m., paroikoi)	By imperial grant. *Kata logon gonikotetos*: full rights of transmission. Part of it was donated
	The village Kremna (incl. 1 mill, land >50 m.; value:300 hyp.)	Granted or confirmed by chrysobull. Full rights of transmission. Sold
	The village Ainos (income of ca. 400 hyp./year)	Half of it was his mother's patrimony (*gonikon*). Half was "part of his chrysobull". Detached from it by the emperor, who allows its donation to Bebaia Elpis

77Regel, *Batopediou*, 17. *Xenodocheion* should be understood in the latter-day sense of "inn" rather than the old Byzantine one of "hospice"
78Xénoph.25, 191
79Arkadios Batopedinos in *Gregorios ho Palamas* 3, p.217-218
80Chil.6, 15-17
81Greg. II, 498
82Solovjev-Mošin, *Povelje*, 222
83Kutlumus 14, 69-70; Xénoph.25, 196 (Ezova); Chil.123, 256-257 (Kremna); Delehaye, *Deux typica*, 83 (Ainos); Philothée IX, 26 (Zelihova)

	Paroikoi and land in Zelihova	Unknown details
Tzamplakon[84]	1 estate ("Prinarion")	By imperial grant. Remains within his family for more than a cemtury afterwards
Antonios Tzamplakon[85]	1 estate ("Gallikos")	Unknown origin. Divided among his 4 sons (as *gonikon*). Later donated
Arsenios Tzamplakon[86]	Properties (incl. 1 house) in Thessalonica	Unknown origin. Confiscated during the civil war. He never reclaimed them, but later he donated them
	Oikonomia (it included income of 23 hyp./year from paroikoi)	By imp. grant. Confiscated
	Part of Prinarion (see above, under Tzamplakon) and 1/4 of Gallikos (see under Antonios Tzamplakon)	From inheritence. Full rights of transmission (donated)
John Tzyringes[87]	Land	Unknown origin. Sold
Demetrios Tornikes[88]	1 estate ("Beltzistha")	From dowry (originally an imperial grant). Full rights of transmission guaranteed by chrysobull
George Troullenos[89]	Oikonomia. Includes 2 pieces of land (1,200m. and 400m.)	By imperial grant. The two pieces of land are later given the status of *gonike*: his rights include immunity, making ameliorations, settling paroikoi (exempt from the basic taxes) and transmission to his children only

[84]Theocharides, "Tzamplakones", 131

[85]Ark.Batopedinos in *Gregorios ho Palamas* 3, 437

[86]Kantak.II, 256; Alex. Batopaidinos in *Gregorios ho Palamas* 4, pp.631-633 (the properties in Tessalonica); Lemerle, "Praktikon de Karakala", 281ff. (the oikonomia); Theocharides, "Tzamplakones", 131-132, 134-137

[87]Chil.**32**, 76; **33**, 79

[88]Pantel.**12**, 104-105

[89]Philothée **VI**, 19; Guillou, *Ménécée* **5**, 47-48; **8**, 52-53

TABLE IIIa: Aristocratic landowners in Western Greece before the Nicene reconquest

Name	Description	Other information
George Euripiotes[90]	*The lordship (*archontia*) of a village *Vineyards *1 two-storied butcher's shop in Berroia	*His wife's parental inheritence *Planted by himself *Inherited (*gonikon*)
Theodora tou Indanou[91]	Paroikoi	Had power over them (such as forcing them to marry)
John Kastamonites[92]	1 village	Had full rights of transmission (gave it as dowry)
Adrianos Syropoulos[93]	Fields and one *zeugelates*	
Andronikos Petraliphas[94]	Landed properties	"Gonike" (*Roditelje*). Full ownership (he donated them)
Nikephoros Petraliphas[95]	Large domain including Hierissos	Inherited (had belonged to his grandmother). Could freely donate parts, incl. immunity from the epiteleia
Alexios Pyrrhos[96]	Part of a village, together with his brothers	It used to be his brother-in-law's pronoia (Joint ownership?) It is given in restitution of a squandered dowry
Isaac Taronas[97]	Part of a village	His pronoia.He gives it to his wife's brothers (see Alexios Pyrrhos)
Taronas[98]	Lordship of a village	Tried to profit by forcing the peasants to attend his own church
Constantine Tzirithnos[99]	Pronoia consisting in paroikoi, fields and oak trees	

[90]Chom. 105
[91]Bees/Apokaukos, 80
[92]Ibid., 58
[93]Ibid., 242
[94]Solovjev, *Seminarium Kondakovianum X* (1938), 46-47. The properties were at Strymon, in 1227
[95]Xérop.8, 69-70; Zogr.VI,17-18. Early 13th C.
[96]Bees/Apok., 58-59
[97]Ibid.
[98]Chom., 343
[99]Petrides/Apok., No. 15

TABLE IIIb: Aristocratic landowners in Asia Minor

Name of owner	Desccription of property	Other information
George Komnenos Angelos[100]	1 village, as pronoia	From imperial grant. His paroikoi also paid taxes to the state
Angelina sisters[101]	1 field	Apparently full ownership (inheritence?). Donated
John Alethinos[102]	1 village, with olive trees	Full ownership of the olive trees (donated)
Alethine Komnene[103]	Fields	
John Alopos[104]	Pronoia, incl. paroikoi	Imperial grant. Unknown conditions
Manuel Doukas Aprenos[105]	Land and paroikoi Iron-works (?)	Unknown origin. Had the right to donate land
Sabbas Asidenos[106]	The village (city?) of Sampson Paroikoi	Originally as independent lordship. Later probably as private property.
Basil Blatteros[107]	Pronoia (probably taxes from paroikoi)	Bought some land of the paroikoi, but the sale was cancelled much later as illegal.
Irene Komnene Branaina[108]	Paroikoi	Unknown origin. Had some kind of lordship rights on their property
Theodore Komnenos Branas[109]	Olive and oak trees in various parts	Some were from inheritence, others from purchase, others he got in return for money lent
Michael Komnenos Branas[110]	1 *Ktema* (Mourmounta).Includes fields, pastures, paroikoi	From dowry, confirmed by imperial prostagmata and chrysobulls. Probably had rights of transmission.

[100]Patmos I **30**, 259
[101]MM IV, 46-47
[102]Ibid., 76
[103]Ibid., 11, 148
[104]Ibid., 38
[105]Ibid., 104,105, 141, 229, 230
[106]MM V, 257=Lampros in *NE* 11 (1914), 401-403
[107]MM IV, 186, 199
[108]Ibid., 82
[109]Ibid., 98, 99, 114, 115, 122, 123
[110]ibid., 177, 180-181, 237, 273-283

	Rights from wood-cutting and pasture on a mountain	By praktikon. But before him, it had belonged to his father-in-law
	1 field (Hagia Helene)	From purchase. He donates it.
Gabalas[111]	Fields	Unknown details
	Rights from use of a mountain forest	State grant. After him ceded by the state to his son-in-law (see Michael Komnenos Branas)
Michael Dermokaïtes[112]	The *episkepsis* (imperial domain) of "ta Alexandreiou"	Taken away by the state after his death
Theodore Doukas[113]	An estate (*ktema*)	Taken away by the state after his death
George Zagarommates[114]	Fields	By imperial grant (mention of *paradosis*)
Eirene/Eugenia Zagarommatina[115]	The estate of Mourmounta	Through praktikon; full rights of transmission?[116]She donated one paroikos
	The estate (*zeugelateion*) Koukoulos, incl.1 field of 40 modioi	By imperial grant. Full rights of transmission
George Kaloeidas[117]	1 field (Sfournou) of 10 modioi	From dowry. The property was immune. He donated it, but the donation had to be confirmed by the emperor
George Kaloeidas2[118]	1 metochion Fields, olive trees	Sold, but in the meantime it was forcefully taken away. Some are from purchase. Full rights of transmission
Manuel Laskaris[119]	1 field of 4 zeugaria	Taken away by the emperor
Isaac Lebounes[120]	Fields	

111Ibid., 254-255, 274
112Ibid., 294
113Ibid., 216
114Ibid., 11 (the protobestiarites)
115Ibid., 232-236
116Mourmounta, belonging to Zagarommatina ca. 1260 belongs later to Michael Komnenos Branas who has it from dowry. Yet, Branas was not the son-in-law of Zagarommatina but of Gabalas (see PLP 3179). Perhaps there is one more inervening generation between the two owners, or Branas could have been married twice.
117MM IV, 32-34
118Ibid., 102-103
119Patmos I **14**, 129; 27, 248
120MM IV, 10, 143

George Melissenos[121]	His "gonike klera": Various buildings and movables, 1 vineyard of 12 m., 300m. of land, 1 pair of oxen, 1 pair of buffaloes, 2 horses, 100 sheep, 1 garden and a lake	By imperial grant? Some of his houses were taken away but they were replaced by others, as *gonika*. Full rights of transmission (donated).
(Michael?) Neokaisareites[122]	Fields	
Constantine Doukas Nestongos[123]	The former pronoia of Syr Adam	By imperial grant. Unknown rights
	1 village (Prinobaris) with *proskathemenoi* paroikoi	Unknown origin and rights
Constantine Peplatysmenos[124]	Oikonomia, part of the imperial estate of Palatia, together with 2 archontopouloi	By imperial grant
George Petritzes[125]	1 field (23 modioi and a saline)	"Gonikon"(inherited?). He donated it (but received a sum of 10 hyp. as assistence)
Goudelles Tyrannos[126]	Various buildings (workshops, a bakery) rented for 200 hyp./year; 3 vineyards of 40 "annonikoi" modioi; an estate of 10 "sea" modioi; 2 pairs, 4 other oxen, 2 horses, various other buildings and fields	At least partly, acquired by himself; given as prosenexis
Theodore Komnenos Philes[127]	1 field	Purchased and owned together with his mother-in-law (dowry?) Donated

[121]Ibid., 266-268
[122]Ibid., 169
[123]Ibid., 104, 257-260
[124]Patmos II, 171
[125]MM IV, 159-162
[126]Ibid., 286-287
[127]Ibid., 213, 225, 226

Table IV: a list of provincial governors until the middle of the fourteenth century. For the sake of precision I only use *kephale* when it is mentioned in the sources. For the same reason I list governors in connection with the city or area explicitly named, although it is amost certain that a general *kephale* of Thessalonica was also governot of a larger part of Macedonia. I do not include military commanders who do not explicitly have an administrative capacity, although it is very likely that some of them also exercised the office of the governor and have been considered as such by previous scholarship. On the question of the relation between the *kephale* and the military commander of a place see Maksimovic, *Provincial Administration*, 44-48. In 13th-century Asia Minor the old-style thematic administration, headed by *doukes* persevered for some time; these officials are not included here.

CONSTANTINOPLE

Kinnamos ("Chinamus")[1]	Governor (capitaneus), 1289(or rather eparch?)
Const. Tornikes 29129	Governor, 1264
John Palaiologos 21475	Governor, ca. 1304
Theodore Synadenos 27120	Governor, 1328
Demetrios Tornikes 29124	Kephale, 1339
George Choumnos 30945	Kephale, ca. 1339
John Rhaoul Gabalas 2416	Governor, 1344

ASIA MINOR

<u>Magnesia</u>	
Michael Doukas Philanthropenos 29777	Governor,1303
Doukas Nestongos 20725	Kephale of Magnesia, 1304
<u>Old Phocaea</u>	
Leo Kalothetos 10617	Governor1348-1358
<u>Philadelpheia</u>	
Manuel Tagaris 27400	Governor, 1309, 1321-24
Alexios Philanthropenos Tarchaneiotes 29752	Governor, 1324

THRACE

<u>Adrianople</u>	
Andronikos Tarchaneiotes 27475	Governor, resident of Adr., 1272
John Kantakouzenos10973	Kephale, 1320-21
Syrgiannes 27167	Kephale, 1321-
Manuel Apokaukos 1191,91267	Governor(general kephale?)1344
Paraspondylos 21906	Governor, 1345
<u>Tzernomianon</u>	
Hierax 8101	Governor, 1345
<u>Didymoteichon</u>	
Alexios-Arsenios Tzamplakon 27752	Governor, 1352
Const.-Manasses Tarchaneiotes 27494	Governor, 1352
<u>Pamphylon</u>	
Michae Bryennios 3262	Archon (kephale?), 1341/2
<u>Peritheorion</u>	
John Asan 1499	Governor, 1355
<u>Hellespont</u>	
Nikephoros Orsini (Angelos) 222	General kephale of the cities of the area,1351

[1] G.Bratianu, *Actes des notaires génois de Pera et de Caffa de la fin du XIIe siècle*, Bucharest 1927, 187

<u>Ainos</u>	
Nikephoros Orsini (Angelos) 222	Governor,1355(perhaps same office as in 1351 in Hellespont)
George Synadenos Astras 1598	Governor, ca. 1355
<u>Vizye</u>	
George Palaiologos 21448	Governor, 1344
Manuel Asan 1506	Governor, 1344-1347
<u>Sozopolis</u>	
Krybitziotes 13837	Governor, 1351

MACEDONIA

Constantine Palaiologos 21499	Governed part of Macedonia, ca. 1320-1322
Demetrios Palaiologos 21456	Governed part of Macedonia 1322-1328
Michael Senachereim Monomachos 19295,19306	General kephale in Macedonia, 1319/20-1330/3 and perhaps later
Syrgiannes 27167	General kephale of the West, 1329-1330
Guy de Lusignan 15074	General kephale of the West, 1341-1342
<u>Serrai and Strymon</u>	
Andronikos Kantakouzenos 10956	General kephale, incl.Serrai-Strymon,1322-1327
Alexios-Arsenios Tzamplakon 27752	Kephale of Serrai-Popolia, 1326. Also had demosiake enoche
Demetrios Metochites 17980	Kephale of Serrai, 1328
Guy de Lusignan 15074	Kephale of Serrai, 1342
Const. Angelos Palaiologos 21495	Governor, resident of Serrai, 1342-1345
Manuel Doukas Tarchaneiotes 27502	Kephale, 1375
<u>Voleron and Mosynopolis</u>	
Andronikos Kantakouzenos 10956	General kephale, incl.Voleron-Mosyn.,1322-(1327?)
Theodore Palaiologos 21462	Kephale, 1325, also had demosiake enoche
<u>Christoupolis</u>	
Theodore Palaiologos 21462	Kephale 1325
<u>Melenikon</u>	
Michael Laskaris Metochites 17985	Governor 1326
<u>Chalkidike</u>	
Sphrantzes 27282	Governor of East Chalk., 1334
<u>Thessalonica</u>	
Theodore Komnenos Philes 29812	Governor (or commander), 1246-7
Const. Tornikes 29129	Kephale, 1266-67
Alexios Doukas Nestongos 20727	Kephale, 1267
Nikephoros Choumnos 30961	Kephale, 1295
John Palaiologos 21475	Governor? Owned land in the theme, 1307
Hyaleas 29465	Kephale, 1315-16
Manuel Doukas Komnenos Laskaris 14549	Kephale, ca. 1320
John Palaiologos 21479	Governor, ca. 1326
George Choumnos 30945	Governor (or commander), 1327
Demetrios Palaiologos 21456	Governor, 1327-28
Theodore Synadenos 27120	Governor, 1342
John Batatzes 2518	Kephale, ca. 1343
John Apokaukos 1187	Governor (General kephale?)1345

Michael Palaiologos 21527	Associate to the governor, 1345
Andrew Palaiologos 21425	Governor, 1348
George Synadenos Astras 1598	Governor, ca.1365
Edessa	
George Lyzikos 15196	Governor, 1350
Berroia	
Diplobatatzes 5509	Governor 1350
Kastoria	
John Angelos 204	Governor 1328
Prilep	
Theodore Synadenos 27120	Governor, until 1321

ALBANIA

Laskaris[2]	Kephale of Kanina, Avlon and all that area bef. 1332
Bellegrada	
Andronikos Palaiologos (Angelos) 21435	Governor, 1326

EPEIROS

Syrgiannes 27167	Governor, 1314-1321
Theodore Synadenos 27120	Governor (epitropos), 1339
Ioannina	
John Angelos 204	General kephale,1339

THESSALY

Basil Metretopoulos 17987	Kephale, 1267-68
Alexios Kaballarios 10034	Governor, 1270
Manuel Rhaoul 24132	Kephale, 1276
[Michael Komnenos Angelos 221	Ruler, -1283][3]
[John Doukas Angelos 206	Ruler, 1303-1318]
[Stephen Gabrielopoulos 3435	Sebastokrator, ruler until 1333]
Michael Senachereim Monomachos19295-19306	General kephale 1330's-1341/2
[Michael Gabrielopoulos 3434	Ruler, until 1342]
John Angelos 204	General kephale 1342-1348
Nikephoros Sarantenos 24914	Governor, 1350
[Nikephoros Orsini (Angelos) 222	Despot, 1356-bef.1359]
Stagoi	
Theodore Orphanoioannes 21121	Kephale, 1340
Trikkala	
Manuel Dioiketes 16684	Kephale ca. 1342-1359

MOREA

Kantakouzenos 10953	Kephale, 1262
[John] Makrenos 16358	Kephale, 1263[4]
Philanthropenos 29748	Kephale, 1290

[2]MM III, 109

[3]Independent or semi-independent rulers are mentioned for the sake of continuity but are put in brackets

[4]The chronology for Kantakouzenos and Makrenos appears overlapping. The title *kephale* is given only by the Chronicle of the Morea, which may be abusing the term applying it to military comanders

Kantakouzenos[5]	Governor (or commander?), ca. 1308
Andronikos Asan 1489	Governor, bef.1316-1323

THE ISLANDS

Lesbos

Andronikos Philanthropenos Tarchaneiotes 29752	Governor, 1324, 1335
Michael Asan 1513	Governor, betw.1342-1355

Chios

Leo Kalothetos 10617	Kephale, 1329-1341
John Tzybos 28075	Kephale, 1341.

Lemnos

Const. Tzyrapes 28160	Doux, kephale and apographeus, 1303-1305
Theodore Padyates 21292	Doux and kephale, 1319
John Balsamon 2116	Doux and kephale, 1321
George Doukas Philanthropenos 29759	Kephale, 1346
George Synadenos Astras 1598	Kephale, ca.1362

Kos

Alexios Barangopoulos 91435	Kephale, 1288

[5]Kantak.I, 85. The date is that of D. Zakythenos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée* II, 63-64 but it should probably be moved slightly earlier.

Table V: Fiscal officials and tax-collectors until the middle of the fourteenth century. The nature of *doux* changed in the course of the thirteenth century from an administrative to a fiscal office. Therefore I am not including simple *doukes* from Asia Minor nor for Europe before the Nicene reconquest.

	CONSTANTINOPLE
Phokas Autoreianos 1692,1696	Exisotes, ca. 1300
(George) Dshypatos 5527, 5530	Tax-collector around the city, 1323. Money lender, bef. 1324
Andreas Phakeolatos 29559	Tax-collector, 1324
Mikrokephalos 18091[1]	Tax-collector, 1324
	ASIA MINOR
Western parts	
Andronikos Palaiologos[2]	Exisotes, first half of 13th C.
Demetrios Karykes[3]	Exisotes, first half of 13th C.
David Broullas 3232	Doux and apographeus, 1264
Manuell Kalampakes 10253	Doux and apographeus of Neokastra, 1284-5
Logariastes 1499	Fiscal official in Skamandros, 1280's
Leo Eskammatismenos 6144	Fiscal agent in Skamandros,bef.1289
Bithynia/Paphlagonia	
Leo Bardales 2179-2183	Apographeus(?)in Mesothinia,1306
Const. Cheilas 30766	Apographeus in Nikomedeia, 1280's-1300's
Southwest	
Goudellios Kannabes 10856	Collects taxes of Phygella,1273
	THRACE
(George) Aminseles 777-8?	Doux and tax-farmer, betw.1282-9
John Theologites 7514	Apographeus, ca.1285
John Bardales 2182	Doux and apographeus, 1299
Panaretos[4]	Apographeus, 1299
Charioupolis	
Blastarios 2809	*enochos ton demosion pragmaton*,1316
	MACEDONIA
John Theologites 7514	Apographeus, ca.1285
Const. Makrenos 16365	Apographeus of the area west of Christoupolis, 1335, 1337-39
Serrai and Strymon	
Leo Akropolites 521	Doux, 1310?
Manuel Theologites 7517	Tax collector, 1312 (or 1327)
Trypho Kedrenos 11604	Apographeus? or other fiscal official, 1315-16
George Strategos 26902	Apographeus, 1317

[1] A colleague of Phakeolatos in 1324, conceiled behind a pun of M. Gabras (Gabras Ep., 616: "οἱ φακεωλάτοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἔνδειαν ἀκούοντες"). The later relation of the two men confirms the identification.

[2] Pach.Ii, 293

[3] Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, 13, 50

[4] A colleague of John Bardales (Planudes Ep., 36) identified by the PLP to John Panaretos, 21641. But the date 1312-13 for the carreer of John Panaretos given by Guillou, *Ménécée*, 49 and taken up by the PLP should be moved fifteen years later (the 10th indiction should be after 1320 when Panaretos had no title or office: Chil., 50); the gap between this and our Panaretos becomes thus considerably larger and the identification more perilous, though by no means impossible.

Nicholas Theologites 7518	Apographeus and tax collector,1316-17
Theodore Palaiologos 21462	Had demosiake enoche, 1320's
John Tarchaneiotes 27486	Had demosiake enoche (also in Boleron), 1325-26
John Panaretos 21641	Apographeus, 1320, 1327
Nikephoros Balsamon 2124	Apographeus(?), 1327
Manuel Tzymiskes 27955	Apographeus(?), 1327
Manuel Liberos 14889	Doux (also of Boleron-Mos.) 1334
Theodore Aaron 4	Apographeus, 1336
John Oinaiotes 21027	Apographeus, 1336
Constantine Edessenos 5960-14177	Apographeus,1344
<u>Voleron and Mosynopolis</u>	
Theodore Palaiologos 21462	Kephale, 1325, also had demosiake enoche
John Apelmene 1157	Doux, 1274 (or 1324?)
Trypho Kedrenos 11604	Apographeus? or other fiscal official, 1315-1316
Nicholas Theologites 7518	Apographeus and tax collector,1316-17
John Panaretos 21641	Apographeus, 1327
Manuel Liberos 14889	Doux (also of Serrai-Str.) 1334
Theodore Aaron 4	Apographeus, 1336
John Oinaiotes 21027	Apographeus, 1336
Const. Edessenos 5960-14177	Apographeus, 1344
<u>Melenikon</u>	
Const. Edessenos 5960-14177	Apographeus, 1344
<u>Chalkidike</u>	
Nicholas Tzeremogites 27863	Apographeus in Kassandra, 1333
<u>Thessalonica</u>	
Manuel Tryxas 29379	Doux, 1290
Nikephoros Choumnos 30961	Has the chrematike enoche of the West, bef. 1295. Kephale, 1295.
Arsenikas 91346	Doux of the imperial zeugelateia in the area, ca. 1274
Constantine Kokalas[5]	Fiscal official, 1320
Nicholas Kampanos 10832	Prokathemenos, apographeus of the theme, 1262
Demetrios Spartenos 26495	Apographeus of the theme, 1262.
Frangopoulos 30094	Apographeus? bef. 1280/81
Michael Kerameas 11642-11646	Apographeus? bef. 1280/81
Alexios Amnon 793	Apographeus of the theme,1279
Const. Tzimpeas 27968	Apographeus of the theme, 1279
Demetrios Apelmene 1155	Apographeus of the theme,1300-1302, 1304
Constantine Kounales 13477	Apographeus of the theme, 1318-19
Demetrios Kontenos 13048	Apographeus of the theme 1315-1318
Leo Kalognomos 10529	Apographeus of the theme, 1315-1320
Constantine Pergamenos 22420	Apographeus of the theme, 1319-1321
George Pharissaios 29636	Apographeus, 1319-1325
John Batatzes 2518	General apographeus, 1333-1341
Const. Edessenos 5960-14177	Apograpeus of the theme,1344
Manuel Chageres 30344	Apographeus, bef, 1344, 1350, 1354, 1369
George Apokaukos Isaris 8283	Apographeus, bef. 1350
John Doukas Balsamon 2115?	Apographeus(?) of the theme, 1355
<u>Berroia</u>	
Arsenikas 91346	Doux, ca. 1274
Zomes 6651	Apographeus, bef.1324
Manuel Tzymiskes 27955	Apographeus, bef. 1324
Const. Edessenos 5960-14177	Apographeus of the theme,1344

[5] Iviron III **76**, 240

Trikkala(Thessaly)	
George Andritzas 938	Doux, 1340's
Chios	
Manuel Kritopoulos13816	Doux, 1293
Lemnos	
Michael Makrembolites 16353	Doux and apographeus, 1284-85
Const. Tzyrapes 28160	Doux, kephale and apographeus, 1303-1305
Theodore Padyates 21292	Doux and kephale, 1319
John Balsamon 2116	Doux and kephale, 1321
Nikephoros Choumnos 30959	Apographeus, bef. 1354
Manuel Laskaris Bryennios 14548	Apographeus, 1355
Demetrios Palaiologos 21453	Apographeus, 1355
Kos	
George Balsamon 2113	Doux, 1290
Rhodes	
Leo Eskammatismenos 6144	Apographeus, 1263
Leros and Kalymnos	
Constantine Diogenes[6]	Doux, anagrapheus, exisotes, 1254
Patmos	
George Zagarommates 6417	Apographeus, 1249

[6]Patmos II, 167

Table VI: Persons to whom εὐγένεια is individually attributed in the sources

(according to the order of the Greek alphabet)

(Theodore?) Komnenos Angelos[1]	1287	πανευγενέστατος
the sister of Xene Angelina[2]	1231	πανευγενεστάτη κυρά
Michael Angelos Doukas[3]	1304	πανευγενέστατος
Peter Doukas Hadrianos[4]	1349	εὐγενέστατος
Eudokia Andriane[5]	early 13th	εὐγενεστάτη
Michael Doukas Arianites[6]	1326	εὐγενέστατος
John Archontitzes[7]	1359	πανευγενέστατος
Asanina[8]	1342	εὐγενεστέρα than other victims of torture
Nikephoros Basilikos[9]	1328	τῶν εὖ γεγονότων
Irene Komnene Branaina[10]	1251	εὐγενεστάτη
Irene Branaina[11]	late13th c.	εὐγενεστάτη
Theodore Komnenos Branas[12]	1274-1281	πανευγενέστατος
Michael Komnenos Branas[13]	ca. 1286	πανευγενέστατος
Basil Kaballarios[14]	1257	εὐγενής
Kallierges[15]	early 14th c.	εὐγενὴς γόνος

[1]MM IV,279
[2]Ibid., 46
[3]Lavra II, 138
[4]Xérop., 194
[5]Chom. 79
[6]Theocharides, *Diatheke*, 19
[7]Solovjev/Mošin, *Povelje*, 224
[8]Kantak.II, 299
[9]Greg.I, 413-414
[10]MM IV, 82,
[11]Ibid.
[12]Ibid., 95, 116, 122,
[13]Ibid., 178, 279
[14]Pach.I i, 55
[15]L.Previale in *BZ* 41(1941), 24

the Kantakouzenoi[16]	1258	εὐγενεῖς
Alexios Komnenos[17]	1217	εὐγενέστατος
Loukiane Koteanitzaina[18]	1366	πανευγενεστάτη
the daughter of Libadarios[19]	ca. 1293	ἐξευγενιζομένη through her grandfather
Nicholas Maliasenos, Anna Palaiologina Maliasene, John Maliasenos[20]	1271	πανευγενέστατοι
Theodora Mavrdoukaina[21]	early 13th	εὐγενεστάτη
Theodore Doukas Mouzakios[22]	after 1321	εὐγενέστατος
Eudokia Nestongonissa[23]	1315	εὐγενεστάτη
Netzades[24]	ca.1300	πανευγενέστατοι
Constantine Palaiologos[25]	13th c.	τοῦ πανευγενεστάτου τῶν Παλαιολόγων γένους
Irene Palaiologina (Metochitaina)[26]	1326	εὐγενής
Petraleiphas[27]	ca. 1300?	εὐγενὴς καὶ μαχητής
Rhaoul the fat's daughter[28]	1305	εὐγενής
Alexios Doukas Rhaoul[29]	1355	πανευγενέστατος
Manuel Komnenos Rhaoul[30]	1276	πανευγενέστατος

16 Ibid.
17 MM IV, 290
18 Solovjev/Mošin, *Povelje*, 254
19 Pach.II, 181
20 MM IV, 391-428
21 Papadopoulos-Kerameus/Apokaukos, 361
22 Delehaye, *Deux typica*, 94
23 Patr.Reg.I, 188
24 Kalopisi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits*, 48, 104
25 Delehaye, *Deux typica*, 23
26 Greg.I, 380
27 Philes/Gedeon, 248
28 Pach.II, 530
29 Kravari, *Philothéou*, 313
30 MM IV, 420

Rhaoul[31]	1345	τῶν εὐγενεστέρων
Rhaoul[32]	late 13th?	πανευγενέστατος
the brothers Rhaoul[33]	1258	εὐγενεῖς
Athanasios Soultanos[34]	1280	εὐγενέστατος
Strategopoulina[35]	1292	εὐγενής
Theodore Synadenos[36]	14th c.	ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν
Theodora Palaiologina Tarchaneiotissa[37]	1257	εὖ γένους ἔχουσα
Phakrasina[38]	1329	εὐγενής
Michael Doukas Philanthropenos[39]	1303	εὐγενείᾳ κοσμούμενος
Theodore Komnenos Philes[40]	1244	πανευγενέστατος
John Palaiologos Philes[41]	1312-1352	τῶν εὐγενῶν, τῶν εὐπατριδῶν
Michael Phokas[42]	1235	πανευγενέστατος
George Choumnos[43]	bef. 1241	εὐγενέστερος than Al. Apokaukos

[31]Greg.II, 732
[32]Lampros in *NE* 11(1914) 405
[33]Pach.Ii, 93
[34]Theocharides, *Diatheke*, 13, 17
[35]Pach.II, 154
[36]Kantak.I, 37
[37]Pach.I i, 55
[38]Kantak.I, 409
[39]Pach.II, 400
[40]MM IV, 225
[41]Greg.I, 263; Kantak.III, 239. Perhaps the two are not refering to the same person
[42]MM IV, 232
[43]Kantak.II, 120

Table VII.
Aristocratic challenges to imperial authority that were connected to Asia Minor

Date	Main person involved	Nature of challenge	Supporters	Opponents
1.1280	John [Angelos] (brother of no.6)	*Commander in Bithynia, accused of insulting emperor's son, feared because of his popularity. Blinded*	Sphrantzes	(Constantine pophyrogennetos)
2. 1280	Michael Strategopoulos (see also no.3)	*Commander in Heracleia. Accused of aspiring to Empire. Acquitted*		
3. 1290-93	Constantine porphyr.	*Governor(?) of Asia Minor. Accused of aspiring to the throne. Imprisoned*	Michael Stratego-poulos	
4. 1295	Alexios Philanthropenos	*Commander in Lydia. Revolts. Apprehended and blinded*	Melchisedek Akropolites; Theodoulos of Smyrna; monasteries in Asia Minor Sympathizers but not accomplices incl. Maximos Planoudes, Const. Akropolites	Libadarios
5. 1297-98?	John Tarchaneiotes (uncle of no.4)	*Commander and exisotes. Accused of conspiracy, laid down his charge*	The Arseniates; sympathizer: George Pachymeres	Patriarch John Kosmas; Theoleptos of Philadelpheia; Leo Bardales; Maximos Planoudes
6. 1304	Michael [Angelos] (brother of no.1)	*Commander. Demanded oath of loyalty from soldiers. Imprisoned*		
7. 1305	John Drimys	*Pretended to be descended from Lascarids conspired with Catalans. Imprisoned*	Mouzakes; Katelanos; the Arseniates; the Catalans (?)	Patriarch Athanasios
8. 1306	Kassianos	*Commander in Mesothinia. Allegedly conspiring with Osman. Apostasized, captured, imprisoned*	Nikephoros Choumnos; (sympathizer: George Pachymeres)	Leo Bardales
9. 1307	Leader in Byzantium unknown	*Conspiracy in favor of the pretender Charles de Valois. Treacherous correspondence but no open activity*	John and Constantine Monomachos; Constantine Doukas Limpidaris; Theoktistos (formerly of Adrianople) allegedly unnamed important magnates (Nikephoros Choumnos?), the population of Asia Minor	(Chandrenos; Thomas Magistros)

Table VIII:The two rival groups in the wars of 1321-1328

Phase I, 1321-1322

Supporters of Andronikos II	Supporters of Andronikos III	Opportunistic
Despot Constantine	John Kantakouzenos	Syrgiannes
Theodore Metochites	Theodore Synadenos	Andronikos Palaiologos [Angelos][2]
the patriarchal Synod[1]	Alexios Apokaukos	
Theoleptos of Philadelpheia[3]	Andronikos Kantakouzenos[4]	
Michael Tornikes	part of the populace of Thessalonica[5]	
Manuel Tagaris[6]	the people of Adrianople[7]	
Leo Bardales[8]	Demetrios and Nikephoros Metochites[9]	
Const.Palaiologos[10]	Manuel Asan[11]	
Manuel Senachereim[12]	John Palaiologos [Synadenos][13]	
John Zarides[14]	John Tarchaneiotes[15]	
the *protos* of Mt. Athos[16]	Jeremiah of Thessalonica[17]	
Alexios Philanthropenos[18]	the abbot of Lavra[19]	
Nikephoros Choumnos		
Constantine Akropolites		
Andronikos Asan		

Phase II, 1327-1328

Supporters of Andronikos II	Supporters of Andronikos III	Opportunistic
Theodore Metochites and his sons	John Kantakouzenos	the Synod[20]
Despot Demetrios	Theodore Synadenos	Nikephoros Basilikos
Andronikos Palaiologos [Angelos][21]	Alexios Apokaukos	
Michael Asan[22]	Theodore of Montferrat[23]	

1 Greg.I, 319
2 Kantak.I, 100
3 Greg.I, 320
4 Kantak.I, 17
5 Greg.I, 356
6 Kantak.I, 91
7 Kantak.I, 39
8 Kantak.I, 118
9 Kantak.I, 63
10 The *megas papias* and nephew of Theodore Synadenos. Kantak.I, 130, 150
11 Kantak.I, 125
12 A *protallagator.* Kantak.I, 130
13 Kantak.I, 133
14 Kantak.I, 130
15 The *domestikos.* Kantak.I, 147
16 Kantak.I, 152
17 Kantak.I, 149
18 Greg.I, 360. Philanthropenos' command was in Philadelpheia and he was not involved in the civil war
19 Kantak.I, 149
20 Greg.I, 405
21 the *protovestiarios* (Greg.I, 394; Kantak.I, 214); not to be confused with his nephew who bore the same name (see under "opportunistic" in the first table)
22 Greg.I, 394; Kantak.I, 260
23 Greg.I, 396

Constantine Asan[24]
Michael Senachereim Monomachos[26]
Isaac Rhaoul[27]
George Choumnos[29]
Kokalas[30]
Theodore Kabasilas[32]

patriarch Isaiah[25]
Jeremiah of Thessalonica
Makarios of Serrai[28]
the people of Thessalonica
Alexios Tzamplakon[31]
Alexios Palaiologos[33]
Angelos[34]
Bryennios[35]
Exotrochos[36]
Guy de Lusignan[37]

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[24]Greg.I, 415
[25]Greg.I, 405
[26]Kantak.I, 260
[27]Kantak.I, 273
[28]Kantak.I, 251
[29]Kantak.I, 268
[30]the *megas logariastes* Kantak.I, 233-235
[31]Kantak.I, 262
[32]Logothete of the *stratiotikon*, Kantak.I, 240
[33]A person of unknown family connections: Kantak.I, 268
[34]A relative of Kantakouzenos, perhaps John Angelos, later governor of Thessaly, Kantak.I, 277
[35]Kantak.I, 277
[36]Grand Hetaireiarch, Kantak.I, 277
[37]Kantak.I, 288

Table IX: the division of the aristocracy during the first months of John Kantakouzenos' apostasy, 1341-42

Governors of cities or areas in 1341 are in italics. Court officials in 1341 are underlined

Loyalist	Kantakouzenist	Changed sides from K. to I.
Anne of Savoy	John Kantakouzenos	*Constantine Palaiologos*[1]
patriarch John XIV	*John Angelos*	*Theodore Synadenos*
Alexios Apokaukos	John and Manuel Asan	John Batatzes
Constantine Asan[2]	Nikephoros Kantakouzenos[3]	John Rhaoul Gabalas[4]
Andronikos Asan[5]	Manuel Tarchaneiotes Kourtikes[6]	
Isaac Asan[7]	*Arsenios Tzamplakon*	
Andronikos Palaiologos[8]	Apelmene[9]	
Guy de Lusignan	Demetrios Pharmakes[10]	
Michael Senachereim	Manuel Dioiketes	
Monomachos	Maurophoros	
George Choumnos	Laskaris[11]	
Manuel Kantakouzenos	Demetrios Kasandrenos[12]	
Strategopoulos[13]	George Phakrases[14]	
Kinnamos[15]	John Palaiologos[16]	
Thomas Palaiologos[17]	George Glabas[18]	
	Michael Bryennios[19]	

[1]Kantak.II, 77, 196
[2]Kantak.II, 116
[3]Kantak.II, 138-139
[4]Kantak.II, 138-139
[5]Kantak.II, 111ff.
[6]Kantak.II, 71, 195
[7]Kantak.II, 116
[8]PLP 21433, the son of Constantine P. in the third column
[9]Kantak.II, 138
[10]For Pharmakes, Dioiketes, Maurophoros see note 000 in the text
[11]Kantak.II, 192
[12]Kantak.II, 103, 192
[13]Kantak.II, 126. He was a son-in-law of George Choumnos
[14]Kantak.II, 195
[15]Kantak.II, 223
[16]Kantak.II, 195; probably not an imperial relative if we judge from his low office
[17]Kantak.II, 225. It is not known whether he was a reaaltive of the imperial family
[18]Kantak.II, 195; maybe Glabas was *skouterios* in 1341, maybe he received this office by Kantakouzenos
[19]Kantak.II, 343

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Note: Periodicals are abbreviated according to the system of the Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium. ODB stands for A.P.Kazhdan (ed.in chief),"Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium" and PLP for E.Trapp (ed.in chief),"Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit"

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